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THE PROJECT OF NICHOLAS V FOR REBUILDING THE BORGO LEONINO IN ROME*

TORGIL MAGNUSON

IN HIS biography of Nicholas V (1447-1455), Giannozzo Manetti describes at length the vast building activity of the Pope, aimed at improving and embellishing the City of Rome.¹ During his Pontificate Nicholas V took steps not only to improve the sanitary conditions of Rome—thus continuing the work of his immediate predecessors—but also to devise plans for a more dignified, modern, and beautiful residential city, befitting its position as the seat of the successor to the Apostle.

As a result of several years of peace and prosperity, the Holy See at the time of Nicholas V appeared to be in a more favorable financial position than had been the case for more than a century. Furthermore, the final victory over the schismatic Council of Basel and the antipope Felix in 1449 contributed to exalt the prestige of the Roman Pontiff. Rome was once more considered the unrivaled center of Christianity, and the Pope the undisputed Head of the Universal Church. These factors doubtless encouraged the Pope to believe that he was in a position to execute a series of ambitious building projects in Rome. Some of his plans were actually executed, but the larger part was abandoned, presumably because of the impact of external events.

Of the many undertakings described by Manetti, most of which concerned the churches and the city walls, by far the largest, and that which he describes most exhaustively, is the project involving the Borgo Leonino and the Vatican. In this paper we will confine ourselves to a discussion of the plan for the Borgo. The execution of this plan was never even begun; as a conception, however, it is of the greatest interest, for it was one of the earliest examples of town planning in Italy in the fifteenth century and was, furthermore, the first attempt at organized rebuilding of a section of the city since the decline of the Roman Empire.

The fact that Leon Battista Alberti is generally considered to have been the architect of the plan lends it even greater interest. This attribution is chiefly based on studies made by Dehio and published in 1880.² Dehio was the first scholar to attempt a real analysis of Manetti's description, and to this day he remains the only art historian who has actually penetrated the problems connected with the project. However, not even Dehio makes a really detailed analysis. Therefore, before

* This study was read in a preliminary form as a paper at the Autumn session of the Seminar of Art History of the University of Uppsala. I wish to express my gratitude to my teacher Professor Gregor Paulsson (University of Uppsala) for having given me every assistance in these studies, and to Licentiate Jan-Olof Tjäder (University of Uppsala) and Dom Anselm Strittmatter O.S.B. (Rome) for their valuable help with the interpretation of Giannozzo Manetti's Latin text; to Mr. Francis C. Rosett for having kindly revised the English form of this article; to Professor Axel Boëthius (University of Göteborg) and Licentiate Rudolf Zeitler (University of Uppsala), both of whom have read my manuscript, for their kind and encouraging interest and valuable advice; and to Mrs. Sonna Rosén who has drawn the diagram. I also wish to thank the Swedish Institute in Rome which has given me the requisite setting for writing this article.

1. Giannozzo Manetti was born in Florence in 1396. In the service of the Florentine Republic, he was sent as ambassador on important missions to several states, among others Venice and Naples. He also went to Rome several times during the Pontificate of Nicholas V. In 1451, while on a visit to Rome, he was appointed an Apostolic Secretary by the Pope, to whom he seems to have been bound in friendship since the days when Nicholas was a cardinal in Florence. In 1453, Manetti left Florence for political reasons and went to Rome. He died in Naples in 1459. See R. Palmarocchi, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, xxii, Rome, 1934, pp. 107f. Cf. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*, ed. P. d'Ancona and E. Aeschlimann, Milan, 1951, pp. 259ff.

2. G. Dehio, "Die Bauprojecte Nicolaus des Fünften und L. B. Alberti," *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, iii, 1880, pp. 241-257.

Dehio's interpretations are discussed in this paper, we will attempt a more thorough reconstruction of the project.

I

In the fourteenth century, Rome suffered severely from earthquakes, fires, and wars, and above all from lack of maintenance in the long period when the Papal Court was absent in Avignon. During the schism which followed, the city declined to a degree which we can hardly imagine. When Martin V (1417-1431) finally entered Rome in 1420 he found the city in very bad condition. The words of his biographer Platina, well known to those who have read Reumont's or Gregorovius' histories of Rome, are expressive: "Urbem Romam adeo diruptam et vastam invenit, ut nulla civitatis facies in ea videretur. Collabentes vidisses domos, collapsa templa, desertos vicos, cenosam et oblitam urbem, laborantem rerum omnium caritate et inopia. Quid plura? nulla urbis facies, nullum urbanitatis indicium in ea videbatur."³

Of all the sections of the city, the Borgo Leonino suffered the most. It was laid waste in 1409 during the war between King Ladislas of Naples and the partisans of the Pisanian Pope Alexander V. Most of the buildings were damaged to such a degree that they were uninhabitable. The streets were in such bad condition that pilgrims could visit the Basilica of St. Peter only with great difficulty. Many of the former inhabitants of the quarter had moved elsewhere.⁴

Its proximity to the Vatican made the Borgo Leonino an important part of Rome, but because of its geographic isolation from the rest of the city it had evolved virtually as an independent community. The quarter had developed around the road leading from the Castel Sant'Angelo to the Basilica. In the ninth century, its area was defined by a wall built by Leo IV. It was separated from the rest of the city by the Tiber. Only one bridge connected the quarter with the eastern bank of the river. All traffic from the Campo Marzio to the Borgo had to pass over this bridge, which stood before the Castel Sant'Angelo. Furthermore, even Trastevere, farther downstream on the same side of the river, was still separated from the Borgo by a large uninhabited area.

The population of the Borgo in the Middle Ages included a great many foreigners who had settled down in the neighborhood of the Basilica and established their *scholae*, such as the *Schola Francorum*, the *Schola Longobardorum*, and the *Schola Saxonum*. Here they gathered and gave hospitality to their friends and compatriots. In the fifteenth century the population seems not to have included a bourgeoisie of merchants and craftsmen worth mentioning;⁵ the property owners in the Borgo whose interests had suffered from the depredations of the quarter appear to have been the canons of St. Peter's, rather than a merchant class. It was this group of prelates which complained in 1437 to the vicar of the Pope, Cardinal Vitelleschi, about the condition of the Borgo.⁶

Essential repairs on the churches and most important buildings of Rome were carried out throughout the city under both Martin V and Eugenius IV (1431-1447).⁷ However, these popes lacked the resources to effect comprehensive restorations and to convert Rome into a great modern

3. L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. G. Caracciolo and V. Fiorini, III:1, fasc. 4, Bologna, 1917, p. 310.

4. Cf. Alfred von Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, III:1, Berlin, 1868, p. 17.

5. It must be remembered that as a social unit Rome was an exception among Italian cities, since there was no wealthy middle class, as in Florence. The Roman population consisted only of the old Roman nobility and of laboring classes, which depended on the surrounding *campagna* with its vineyards, pastures, and castles. Thus Rome was more of an agricultural center than was, for instance, Florence. However it was also the seat of the Roman Curia, which included the cardinals with their small courts, other high officials and clerics and the humanists. Most of these were strangers in Rome, and it was

really on them that the intellectual and commercial life of the city depended. Apart from the Curia, a great many foreigners and pilgrims resided in the city more or less permanently, attracted to Rome as the center of the Church. Cf. Reumont, *op.cit.*, pp. 22ff. As will be shown below, the plan of Nicholas V would have tended to emphasize the separation between the Romans and the Curia, since it was intended to concentrate the Curia in the Borgo.

6. P. Paschini, *Roma nel Rinascimento* (Istituto di studi romani, *Storia di Roma*, XII), Bologna, 1940, pp. 159f.

7. E. Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des papes pendant le XVe et le XVIe siècle*, I (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 4), Paris, 1878, pp. 1-67.

urban community like Florence. It was not until Nicholas V that the work of restoration was begun on a large scale.

II

Our only source of information on the project for the Borgo is Manetti's description of it in his biography of Nicholas V, a translation of which is given below. No plan survives;⁸ nor is the project mentioned by any other contemporary writer.⁹

In general we can consider Manetti as a very reliable observer. His biography of Nicholas V is, furthermore, of exceptional value in view of his close connection with the Papal Curia and with the Pope himself. However, we have no certain knowledge of Manetti's immediate source of information on the project. While we may rely on Manetti as a historian, his text presents many difficulties in making a reconstruction of the project for the Borgo. Manetti was a humanist, a politician, and a philologist, but his lack of technical knowledge of architecture renders his description of the Pope's plan vague and ambiguous. Furthermore, in interpreting these descriptions it is necessary to take into account the characteristic exaggeration inherent in Manetti's rhetorical style. These two factors have made for an unavoidable discrepancy between the project as described and as it was probably actually conceived.

The vagueness in the description may well have derived from Manetti's source of information, of which we know nothing with certainty. We do not even know whether there actually was a plan, measured and drawn. We may, of course, assume that there was, and that Manetti had seen it; but such plans were rare in those days. There was, for example, a plan for Florence in 1377, and another, for Talamone on the Tuscan coast, in 1306, which was the only plan in the fourteenth century having a practical scope.¹⁰ But these were not town plans, in our meaning of the term; they did not show streets and blocks of houses in their correct proportions, but were intended simply to show the disposition of houses and of building space. Considering therefore the fact that the project for the Borgo is not mentioned in any other contemporary source, and that the description is so indefinite, it seems hardly possible that Manetti's description was based on a town plan in our sense of the term. There may have existed some kind of model for the new Basilica, the choir of which was actually begun, and for part of the Papal Palace. But it seems probable that the Borgo plans existed only as an idea, known to a few architects and members of the Curia. This, then, was probably Manetti's only source of information on the project for the Borgo.

Manetti's biography of Nicholas V existed only in a few manuscript copies until it was published in the third volume of Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* in 1734.¹¹ A new edition of this work was begun some fifty years ago and several volumes have already been published. Manetti's text, however, has not yet appeared. This is unfortunate, since Muratori's first version of the text

8. We know of a great number of city prospects dating from the fifteenth century. The most famous are the three views of ideal cities which are now in Urbino, Berlin, and Baltimore; and the doors in the palace at Urbino showing city views in inlaid wood. Cf. P. Rotondi, *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino*, I, Urbino, 1950, p. 75; M. Salmi, *Piero della Francesca e il palazzo ducale di Urbino*, Florence, 1945, p. 115. All these prospects date from the 1470's; none of them, nor any other city view known to the writer, can be taken to be a portrait townscape of the Borgo Leonino. The *tarsie* in Urbino show palaces with porticoes on the ground floor facing a street; not a very common feature in contemporary palace architecture. However, these were made fifteen or twenty years after the Borgo plan was conceived, and we are not in a position to make any judgments on the relationship between the architectural projects in Rome in the 1450's and the architecture of the buildings shown on these *tarsie*, which were probably executed by a Florentine artist.

9. Other historians of the fifteenth century cite only the restoration work actually executed on the churches, palaces,

and city walls, and the work done on the Vatican Palace and the choir of St. Peter's. No detailed descriptions of this work were written, however, and apart from Manetti no historian so much as mentions a project for the Borgo Leonino, with the exception of Vasari. In his biography of Bernardo Rossellino he gives a brief description of the project. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1878, III, p. 100. It is evident, however, that Vasari's own source of information was Manetti's text.

10. W. Braunsfels, *Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana*, Berlin, 1953, pp. 77f. The plan of Florence, and an earlier one for Siena in 1218 were plans of streets and houses already in existence, while the plan of Talamone was made on the occasion of the planning of the port of Siena, which was never executed.

11. L. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, III:2, Mediolani, 1734, cols. 907-960 (henceforth all references to Muratori, *op.cit.*, mean this edition). The part concerning the artistic activity in Muratori's version has been reproduced by Müntz, *op.cit.*, pp. 339-351.

leaves much to be desired from a critical point of view. A preparation for a new version of the text, consisting of a list of errors in the first edition, was published by Pagnotti in 1891; but even this leaves some points unexplained.¹² For this paper the writer has used Muratori's version as corrected by Pagnotti, since no other critical edition of the text yet exists. The original text is written in typical fifteenth-century Latin, and, while the main part of the biography is quite clear, the section dealing with building activity is sometimes so obscure that even trained Latinists have difficulties in interpreting it.

In the beginning of his description of the building activity in Rome, Manetti cites five major groups of undertakings, which taken together constituted in effect the Pope's construction program.¹³ The first consisted of the repair of the ruined city walls. The second was the restoration of the most important churches which, the author states, were forty in number, and were the so-called station churches.¹⁴ The third was the project with which this paper is concerned: the reconstruction of the quarter between the Castel Sant'Angelo and the Vatican, which was to house the whole of the Curia. The fourth was the reconstruction and decoration of the Vatican Palace; and the final project was the complete reconstruction, from the ground up, of the Basilica over the Tomb of St. Peter.¹⁵

The following is a translation from the original text in Muratori of the section dealing with the Borgo, with Pagnotti's corrections:

"We know that the construction of the new quarter was to begin at the gate by the bridge leading to the Tomb of Hadrian. In front of the Tomb a great piazza was to be laid out, after all the houses had been demolished which were between the Tiber and the city wall, which extended to the tower of the great palace constructed by Nicholas for this reason. From this great piazza three broad and ample streets were to lead, each distinct from the others, one on each side of the third, which was to be in the middle, and they were to extend to the other vast piazza, in front of the apostolic shrine. The central street was to have led in a straight line from the first piazza to the central of the five portals with which the Basilica was provided. On the second street, that to the right, one could have gone directly to the gate of the Palace. The third, toward the Tiber, was to have led to the place where the high obelisk now stands, and where, in the plans for reconstructing the Apostolic Basilica, there were to be built new dwellings, commonly called dormitories, for the canons.

"Each of the three streets was intended to be distinguished from the others by the various types of dwellings, shops, and workshops on it, in the following way. The street on the right was to have been furnished on both sides with almost identical types of premises for different kinds of smaller

12. F. Pagnotti, "La vita di Niccolò V scritta da Giannozzo Manetti. Studio preparatorio alla nuova edizione critica," *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria*, XIV, 1891, pp. 411-436. To establish a definitive text for this article based on the manuscripts preserved would be beyond the writer's competence. Manetti's original manuscript of the biography no longer exists. Pagnotti gives a list of the manuscripts used for his critical comments. Of these, the oldest which can be used to collate a new critical version are six in number: four are in the Vatican Library, one in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, and one in the Biblioteca Comunale in Mantova. Pagnotti, *op.cit.*, pp. 415-419.

13. Muratori, *op.cit.*, III:2, col. 929; cf. Müntz, *op.cit.*, p. 70. Manetti also enumerates a great many important undertakings in other towns in the Papal States, including Spoleto, Civita Castellana, Narni, etc.

14. Manetti is incorrect in stating that the station churches were forty in number. As early as Gregory the Great there were already forty-three, according to the list published by Mabillon. Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, 78, Paris, 1862, pp. 1367ff. Later their number was increased somewhat. Cf. J. P. Kirsch, *Die Stationskirchen des Missale romanum (Ecclesia orans, XIX)*, Freiburg im Br., 1926. When Manetti wrote, the celebration of the stations in the liturgical year in Rome had gone out of use due to the absence of the popes during the four-

teenth century. The tradition did not completely die out, however, and the station churches, many of which were *tituli* and *diaconiae*, were traditionally considered the most important in Rome, and contributed to the fame and holiness of the city. Therefore, the concern of the Pope for the repair of these churches was fully in line with his wish to restore Rome to its former glory.

15. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 930: "Quinque singularia & praecipua fabricandi & condendi opera, ac profecto memoratu laudibusque digna intra Urbem, partim ad munitionem, partim ad ornamentum, partim ad aeris salubritatem, partim ad devotionem vel maxime pertinentia, efficere & consummare cupiebat, ac sic in mente sua penitus & omnino proposuerat. Quorum primum erat, ut Urbis moenia pluribus simul locis jam collapsa & confragosa noviter repararet. Secundum, ut sacras XL Mansionum aedes, a Gregorio Primo cognomento Magno Sancto Pontifice primitus institutas, novis aedificiis & constructionibus reformaret. Tertium ut Vicum quemdam a Porta Adrianae Molis inchoandum, & usque ad Basilicam Petri Apostolorum Principis porrigendum, ita suis stationibus ac munitionibus conderet, ut tota simul Curia intrinsecus secura tutaque sufficienter habitaret. Quartum ut Pontificale Palatium mirum in modum praemuniret, atque regaliter exornaret. Quintum ut sacram Beati Petri aedem a fundamentis nuper raedificaret. . . ."

craftsmen. The central street was to have differed from that on the left in that it was planned to provide facilities for money-changers, drapers, and various other more important crafts, also situated on both sides. But on the one on the left, and as far as the wall which was to be constructed along the Tiber, there were to be laid out on both sides of the street shops for various types of minor craftsmen.

"These three streets were also to be decorated with six colonnades (*intercolumniis*),¹⁶ constituting six porticoes, two on each street facing each other, both beautiful and useful. The shops were to be situated within these porticoes, while above dwellings were to be located. Thus, people walking in the porticoes could have always admired their beauty, and be protected from bad weather winter and summer, and from rain, extreme cold, and heat. The workshops and the dwellings above them would not have lacked for necessary light.

"This quarter of the Curia of which we are speaking was to have been completely surrounded by great walls and high towers, and enclosed on its four sides by powerful fortifications. Thus it would have been protected first by the bridge in front of the Tomb of Hadrian and by the Tomb itself, which was to have had new towers at its four corners. Then, on the right, it was to have been fortified by high walls extending to the great tower of the Palace, while the two excellent strong points of the Palace and the Apostolic Basilica guarded the upper end. It was to have been fortified on the west by a wall, at right angles to which, on the south, the wall was to continue toward the bridge in front of the Tomb of Hadrian, where it was planned to curve along the eastern side. The quarter was to be so defensible that neither a rational nor an irrational being, excepting the birds with their wings, could have entered it.

* * * * *

"In front of the vestibule of this sacred edifice, extending over the steps, there was to be a great area, 500 ells long and 100 ells wide. From the noble steps of this vestibule, which was to be beautifully inlaid in different colored stone—marble, porphyry, and stone the color of emeralds—this area was to extend, as already mentioned, 500 paces, as far as the big and noble colonnade which supported the three archways [porticoes?]¹⁷ of the quarter—the most beautiful vista conceivable. In the middle of this wide and beautiful piazza, or, as the Greeks more clearly put it, "Platea," in front of the central portal of the Basilica, he intended to set up, beautifully and devoutly, the great obelisk. For instead of the four small bronze lions which now serve this colossus as a base and a support somewhat higher than the ground, he placed on the ground four great statues, life-size, of the Evangelists of solid melted bronze separated from each other in proportion to the width of the colossus; over these bronze statues, very finely sculptured figures differing from one another according to the various conditions of the person, the obelisk rested. On the top of the same colossus he placed another statue made of bronze of Our Saviour Jesus Christ holding a golden cross in His right hand.

"Between the steps already mentioned and the first great vestibule there was to have been a wide area which, due to its width and length, would seem capable of holding a great mass of people. At the upper end of this long area there was planned a long vestibule provided with five beautiful

16. Manetti uses *intercolumnia* for colonnade throughout the text. The usual meaning of the word would not make sense in this context, as is clear from the descriptions of the atrium of the Basilica of St. Peter: "A lateribus vero utriusque porticus duo intercolumnia se invicem spectantia . . . figebantur"; and "Ex transverso vero horum duorum intercolumnium inter duas praedictas porticus porrigebatur. . . ." Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 935. The mistake may seem too flagrant for a humanist like Manetti, but it must be remembered that at

that time Vitruvius had been read by very few scholars. When Manetti was writing there was still some confusion on the interpretation of many of the terms used by ancient architects.

17. It must be assumed that Manetti here misused the word *porticus*. If the word "portico" is used instead of "archway" the translation does not seem to make any sense. The error is, after all, no worse than his use of *intercolumnia* for "colonnade."

equidistant portals; from the first step of the steps to the portals of the first vestibule the area stretched 75 ells wide and 120 ells long."¹⁸

III

A reconstruction of the project for the Borgo breaks down into the following categories: the walls and other fortifications which defined the area; the two piazzas at either end of the quarter; the streets connecting them; and, finally, the buildings and decorative features.

Our first task is to consider the plans for strengthening the fortifications of the quarter, and the effect that these proposals would have had on the actual area. The emphasis placed by Manetti on the strength of the new defensive system clearly shows the importance attached to the security of the Borgo. While the proposed new system would, in fact, have involved only slight changes in the actual area defined by the old Leonine walls, it appears nevertheless that nearly all the existing fortifications were to be replaced by far stronger defenses. The whole quarter, and especially the Palace and the Basilica, were to be protected against external enemies as well as against insurgency within the City itself. In Manetti's account of the Pope's speech to the Cardinals on his deathbed, Nicholas V actually expressly declares that this was his intention.¹⁹

18. In the following quotation from Muratori (*op.cit.*) the words in parentheses are those of Muratori, immediately followed in the text by Pagnotti's correction. (P.) after a word means that it has been added by Pagnotti for integration into the text.

Col. 931f.: "Ad (tertiam) tertium de Vico, ut ita dixerim, Curiali, juxta nostram ordinem procedentes, novam hujus Vici constructionem a Porta Pontis Molis Adrianæ inchoandam fore cognovimus, ubi magnam quamdam aream, cunctis habitationibus inter moenia Urbis, quæ tanto ulterius in latitudinem extendebantur, ut ad perpendicularum magnæ Turris Palatinæ ab eo ad hoc ipsum aedificatæ dirigerentur, & inter Tiberim consistentibus, funditus demolitis, ante prædictam Adriani Molem instituebat. Ab hac maxima area tres latae, & amplæ viae ab invicem distinctæ, duæ ab utrisque lateribus, tertia intermedia, derivabantur, & ad alteram ingentissimam aream ante Apostolicam aedem apparentem protendebantur. Per intermediam vero ab area prima usque ad mediam prædictæ Basilicæ quinque januis distinctæ portam iter per rectam lineam dirigebatur. Per secundam autem, quæ a dextris prominebat, recto tramite ad Portam Palatinam ibatur. At per tertiam a laeva versus Tiberim ad eum locum tendebatur, ubi nunc ingens ille & altissimus Obeliscus exstat, & ubi in nova Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ reformatione domestica pro Sacerdotibus Canonicis cubilia designabantur, quæ vulgo Dormitoria appellantur. Atque tres commemoratæ viae diversis habitaculis, variis ergastulis, ac dissimilibus Opificum tabernis per hunc modum ab invicem separabantur. Nam a dextris via eisdem propemodum habitaculis pro mediocribus diversorum exercitiorum Artificibus se se e regione respicientibus distinguebatur. Intermedia vero usque ad laevam similibus nummulariorum, drapporum (P.), pannorumque mensis, & hujusmodi majorum Opificum tabernis utrimque institutis, ac mutuo se se intuentibus, disponebatur. A laeva autem usque ad murum super Tiberim aedificandum, diversorum generum pro infinis Opificibus apothecæ utrisque pariter lateribus ordinabantur. Atque tres prædictæ viae, sex (inter Columnas) intercolumniis usque adeo muniebantur, ut sex continuas porticus, duas a qualibet via, se invicem respicientes, pulcherrime simul atque utilissime efficerent. Juxta enim (P.) variæ diversorum Opificum tabernæ, supra vero domorum habitacula condebantur. Ac per hunc modum quocumque tempore sub porticibus incedentes homines, & voluptate pulcherrimi aspectus capiebantur, & omni quoque, immoderata, & hyemali, & aestiva tempestate, partim ab jugibus pluviis, partim ab intemperie algoris & aestus, se se tutabantur. Necessaria etiam inferiorum tabernarum, ac superiorum domorum habitacula nequaquam suo lumine privabantur. Atque hic Curialis, de quo loquimur, Vici a magnis (membris) moenibus, & altis turribus undique

cingebatur, a quatuor namque ejus lateribus egregiis propugnaculis circumdabatur.

"Siquidem primo a Ponte Adrianae Molis, & ab ipsa Mole, quatuor novis turribus super quatuor angulis præmunita; a dextris deinde magnis moenibus versus maximam turrim ad Palatium vergentibus; a parte vero superiori duobus mirabilibus & dicti Palatii, & Apostolicæ Basilicæ propugnaculis; & versus Occidentem, & ex transverso quoque versus Meridiem perpetuis muris usque ad prædictum Adrianae Molis Pontem continuatis, & ad Orientem revolutis, ita circumquaque muniebatur, ut nulla neque rationalia, neque etiam rationis expertia animalia, nisi volantes dumtaxat aves volatibus suis, ingredi potuissent."

Col. 934: "Ante primum igitur hujus sacrae Ædis vestibulum super scalas prominens maxima quaedam area (ducentorum) quingentorum in longitudine, centum in latitudine cubitorum pulcherrime apparebat. A formosis namque prædicti vestibuli gradibus, quos partim (P.) (marmoribus) marmoreos, partim porphyreis, partim smaragdinorum colorum decoris, gratia (intersecabat) interferebat, incipiens, usque ad egregia & nobilitata intercolumnia per (ducentos) quingentos, ut diximus, passus in longum extendebatur, super quibus tres commemorati Vici Porticus, speciosorum omnium spectaculorum visu pulcherrimum specimen, sustentabantur. In hac amplissima & ornatissima area, & ut Graeci expressius dicunt, platea, ingentissimum illum ac maximum Obeliscum in ipso areae meditullio e regione ad intermediam prædicti vestibuli portam in hunc modum pulcherrime simul atque devotissime collocabat. Nam pro quatuor pusillis aeneisque Leonibus, quibus Colossus ipse nunc pro basibus ac sustentaculis paulo superficie soli altioribus utitur, quatuor magnas totidem Evangelistarum statuas ex solido liquefactoque aere in staturam humanam fabrefactæ conflatas in superficie sola, distantibus inter se proportionibus secundum Colossi latitudinem, ponebat; super quibus aeneis statuis diversis invicem figuris (vix) iuxta varias cujuscumque personæ conditiones perpolitissime sculptis, Colossea moles sustentabatur. In summitate vero ipsius Colossi, alteram Jesu Christi Salvatoris nostri statuam, dextera ejus manu auream Crucem bajulantis ex aere confectam accommodabat. Inter prædictas scalas, & hoc primum vestibulum magnum quoddam & amplum superficiæ solum interjacebat, quod maximæ hominum multitudinis longitudine ac latitudine sua capacissimum videbatur. In superiori hujus ampli soli parte oblongum vestibulum reperiebatur, quod quinque egregiis portis aequis inter se portionibus distinguebatur; & a primo scalarum gradu usque ad prædictas primi vestibuli portas LXXV. cubitorum latitudo, longitudo vero ultra CXX. passus protendebatur."

19. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 950: "Ad hanc Christianorum

At the eastern end of the quarter, the Castel Sant'Angelo was to be the strong point in the defensive system. We know that three of the circular towers which Manetti describes as planned for the corners of the fortress actually were constructed. The fourth corner, at the gate leading to the Borgo, was left bare.²⁰

The Leonine wall on the north side of the Borgo, connecting the Castel Sant'Angelo with the Vatican, was to be replaced by a new one. This was to join the Castel Sant'Angelo at about the same point as did the old Leonine wall, that is, at the northwestern corner of the fortress.²¹ It was to go in a straight line to the so-called Torre di Niccolò V in the Vatican. This great tower, which was left unfinished, is familiar to every visitor to the Vatican Library. It is situated at the angle formed by the bastion over which Sixtus V was later to build his palace. It has considerable proportions, and deserves indeed Manetti's appellation *ingens et maxima turris*. It was an important element in the defense of the Borgo. From this tower one wall was planned to go westward to the top of the Vatican hill, and another was to lead to the steps in front of the Basilica.²² The latter is still preserved as far as the Portone di bronzo. The wall toward the top of the hill is now interrupted by Bramante's wing connecting the Vatican Palace with the Belvedere. It continues, however, farther to the west on the slope of the hill, where its structure is considerably higher than the preserved parts of the original Leonine wall, exactly as Manetti describes it: ". . . qui altioribus moenibus usque ad verticem montis jungebatur." It reaches the great tower on the top of the hill, where the Vatican Radio now has its studio. From there it goes southward to another tower, bends to the east and is cut off about one hundred meters farther away. Both the curtain and the two towers are of ashlar masonry of regularly cut tufa blocks. Originally, there was a projecting battlemented parapet supported by brackets of brickwork. On the northern tower this arrangement is still preserved, though very much restored, while on the curtain only remains of the brackets can still be seen. This part of the *enceinte* evidently dates to Nicholas V. This is clear when we examine the masonry and the architectural structure of the wall and the two towers. There is also documentary evidence that a wall was built on the top of the Vatican hill at the Porta Pertusa in the 1450's.²³ From the wall going toward the top of the hill another wall was planned to go southward as far as to the Basilica, thus enclosing the actual Palace area. An outer wall enclosed the Papal gardens and vineyards outside the Palace. This wall went from the Porta S.

Populorum erga Romanam Ecclesiam, ac Sedem Apostolicam, devotionem tutae quaedam habitatoribus ipsis, ac terribiles inimicis, Oppidorum, Urbiumque munitiones accedunt, quae nimirum per has magnorum aedificiorum constructiones adversus externos hostes, ac domesticos novarum rerum cupidos, quotidie diripiendi gratia conspirantes, & in grave Ecclesiasticarum gubernationum damnum insurgentes, munitiores redduntur."

The language of this speech cannot be accepted as authentic, since it is in the typical eloquent style of the fifteenth century; but it is generally assumed that its content, in its essential meaning, corresponds with the ideas which the Pope expressed on this occasion. It must be borne in mind that at the time of the Pope's death Manetti was associated with the Curia. He not only knew several of the cardinals, but also the Pope himself; and he must have had knowledge of the Pope's intentions. Furthermore, the biography was probably written shortly after the death of Nicholas V. Cf. Pagnotti, "La vita di Niccolò V," *Archivio d. Società Romana di storia patria*, XIV, 1891, p. 411; O. Tommasini, "Documenti relativi a Stefano Porcari," *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, III, 1880, p. 115, note 2; F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, III:1, London, 1909, p. 145f.

20. M. Borgatti, *Castel Sant'Angelo in Roma*, Rome, 1929, p. 160. At a later stage Alexander VI was to build polygonal towers around the circular towers of Nicholas V, and more than a century later Urban VIII was to construct his pentagonal towers around the towers of his predecessors. At the

southeastern corner, the upper part of one of the towers of Nicholas V reconstructed in this century can be seen above the later constructions.

21. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 930: "A Ponte vero usque ad Portam Palatinam nihil innovavit, cum quia ibi moenia valida & solida apparebant, tum etiam quia in constructione Vici, de quo paulo post dicemus, ipsius amplificandi gratia, funditus diruere & demoliri constituerat." And Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 932: "Primo enim [scil. turris Palatii] ad designatam commemorati Vici amplificationem munitionemque, veteribus moenibus demolitis, novisque ab inde ex parte inferiori usque ad alteram Molis Adrianæ Turrim per lineam rectam constructis, speciosissime famulabatur." It is true that Manetti does not specifically cite the northwestern of the three towers as that which the new city wall was planned to join, but in view of the existing topography it could hardly have been either of the other towers if the wall was to be straight.

22. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 932: "Secundo ex parte superiori ad alterum murum inserviebat, qui altioribus moenibus, usque ad verticem montis jungebatur. Tertio ad quemdam grossissimum parietem aptabatur, qui ab uno ejus latere incipiebat, & ex transverso usque ad Apostolici Templi scalas protendebatur."

23. According to the accounts published by Müntz (*Les arts à la cour des papes*, I, p. 159), between 1451 and 1453 large sums of money were paid to various persons for this wall at the Porta Pertusa.

Petri around the Mons Geretulus, where Innocent VIII later built the Belvedere, and up to the tower on the top of the hill. It was built by Nicholas III (1277-1280).²⁴ The Palace would then have been protected by two courses of walls, which coincides with Manetti's description.²⁵ South of the Borgo, part of the projected walls seem to have been actually constructed in the time of Nicholas V, as stated by Manetti. However, later fortifications have almost entirely replaced what remained of pre-sixteenth-century constructions. Only a tower is preserved, close to the site of the Porta Cavalleggeri, presumably dating to Nicholas V.

According to Manetti, the Palace and even the Basilica itself were to be part of the defensive system. Especially with regard to the Basilica this statement is of great interest.²⁶ The fact that it was so planned is not surprising if one considers the importance attached to protecting the Tomb of the Apostle, and that it was actually planned to be defensive explains the enormously thick walls of the choir of the church, begun in the reign of Nicholas V and shown on one of Bramante's drawings of his plans for a new Basilica.²⁷ Construction requirements alone, even for very high walls supporting a barrel vault, would not have justified the huge proportions of the walls and buttresses shown on this drawing. However, if Manetti meant that the choir itself was to be part of the defenses of the church, then the proportions of its walls are understandable. Assuming that this was the intention, the new choir would have formed a strong bastion at the western end of the Basilica, while the naves, which probably were to remain unchanged, would have been surrounded by additional defensive walls.²⁸

Manetti does not explain how the Basilica was to be connected with the walls on the southern side of the Borgo. He only states that they were to continue along the Tiber as far as the bridge in front of the Castel Sant'Angelo, where no wall had previously existed.

Predominant in the plan were the two large piazzas, one at the Castel Sant'Angelo and the other in front of the Basilica. These were to be connected by three broad streets.

As we have seen from the text, the existing piazza in front of the Castel Sant'Angelo was to have been widened in order to take in the whole space from the Tiber to the city wall. Manetti gives no measurements for this area. Its length can be approximately estimated at 130 meters, that is, the distance from the Tiber to the city wall.²⁹ The proposed width of the enlarged piazza is similarly left in doubt. The eastern side would have been the wall of the Castel Sant'Angelo. It can be hypothetically assumed that the western side would have been marked by the church of S. Maria in Traspontina in its original location, which was nearer to the Castel Sant'Angelo than it is today.³⁰ If so, the width of the piazza would have been about 85 meters.

In front of the Basilica there was to have been another, larger piazza, corresponding to the old Platea S. Petri. From ancient times there had existed a form of platform immediately in front

24. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 933: "A muro insuper, qui a Turri incipiebat, & ad verticem montis usque protendebatur, quando ad superman Palatii partem attingebat, tunc ex transverso alius murus versus meridiem dirigebatur, donec cum praenominato divisore conjungeretur. Ac per hunc modum Palatium totum a quatuor suis lateribus clauderetur." And col. 934: "... Palatium, non solum urbanis moenibus ... sed etiam a propriis muris ita hinc inde cingebatur, ut duplicatis etiam longioribus & (proprioribus) propioribus moenibus circumdaretur."

25. F. Ehrle and H. Egger, *Der Vatikanische Palast in seiner Entwicklung bis zur Mitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, (*Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, 11), Vatican City, 1935, p. 42.

26. During the Middle Ages there were a great many defensible churches throughout Europe. They seem to have become increasingly rare, however, as the requirements for fortifications increased, and with the development of artillery. Very few defensible churches dating from the fifteenth century can be found in Italy. One of these is the Basilica at Loreto, built at the end of the century.

27. Cf. H. Geymüller, *Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe für Sanct Peter in Rom*, Vienna and Paris, 1875, BL 9.

28. In his description of the Basilica, Manetti actually mentions two walls, which were to protect the two exterior aisles. These would have extended from the two campaniles which were planned for either end of the façade to the transepts. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 935: "Ab his duobus campanilibus ... duo longissimi & amplissimi muri utrumque, quisque a latere suo, usque ad primum cujusdam magnae Crucis principium extendebantur. A dextris namque unus, inter Palatium & Templum dividens, cum exteriori curte; a sinistris vero alter intercedebat, a quo retrorsum via publica sternebatur." Since the five naves were apparently not to be vaulted, there can be no doubt that the *magnae Crucis principium* must refer to the transept, the vaulting of which is carefully described.

29. The measurements are taken from R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Mediolani, n.d., pls. 7 and 14.

30. This church was destroyed in 1564 when, under Pius IV, the new bastions were constructed around the Castel Sant'Angelo. Cf. Lanciani, *op.cit.*, pl. 14; and M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1942, II, pp. 953ff.

of the façade of the atrium of the Basilica, which was approached by steps. It appears that in the new project this platform was to be slightly widened, while the actual Platea below the steps, which previously had had no definite shape, was now to be converted into a formalized square. It was in this new piazza, according to Manetti, that the three main streets of the quarter were to terminate.³¹ Here Manetti's measurements for the piazza give rise to further difficulties in interpreting his text. In Pagnotti's revision of Muratori's work, the dimensions are given as 500 by 100 ells (279 by 56 meters).³² Muratori, in his version of the text, cites the measurements as 200 by 100 ells (112 by 56 meters). The proportions 5:1 for a piazza are not what one would expect to find in the fifteenth century. Muratori's version of Manetti's measurements would, therefore, seem more plausible; however, for several reasons, which will be given below, even these must be rejected. The measurements of the piazza as actually planned must have differed radically from those given by Manetti.

It should be noted that since, in Pagnotti's revision, the text explicitly states that the 500-ell dimension was to be the distance from the steps in front of the Basilica to the colonnade where the three streets were to enter the piazza, we can only conclude that the width of the piazza was to be only 100 ells, or 56 meters. This seems doubtful, for two reasons. The first has to do with the width of the smaller piazza—located, according to Manetti, between the steps leading up to the Basilica and the façade itself. This is given as 120 ells (67 meters), which Manetti also cites as the width of the façade of the new Basilica.³³ It seems most improbable that the larger of the two piazzas, that is, the piazza below the steps, was planned to be narrower than the smaller one above.

The second reason why the 56-meter width seems improbable has to do with the distance between the two lateral streets. This distance is the governing factor in determining the minimum planned width of the piazza. We know that the western terminal points of these streets were to be: for the central street, the central door of the Basilica; for the street on the right, the main entrance to the Palace; and for that on the left, the obelisk in its original location south of the Basilica. On Lanciani's *Forma Urbis*, we can easily see that the distance between the old main entrance of the Vatican Palace, and a line drawn from the obelisk in its original location due east and parallel with the axis of the Basilica, was about 125 meters.³⁴ This, then, would have been the approximate distance between the two streets, and the minimum width of the piazza. However, too much speculation is involved to draw satisfactory conclusions on the exact measurements of this piazza.

We now come to Manetti's description of the three main streets of the quarter, planned to

31. Manetti's statement is enigmatic in its formulation, but it seems impossible to interpret it in any other way: "A formosis namque praedicti vestibuli gradibus . . . incipiens, usque ad egregia & nobilitata intercolumnia per (ducentos) quingentos, ut diximus, passus in longum extendebatur, super quibus tres commemorati Vici Porticus, . . . sustentabantur." Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 934. Manetti erroneously uses *intercolumnia* throughout his text, as has already been noted. The three porticoes over the colonnade at the end of the piazza cannot be explained satisfactorily unless we assume that the word *porticus*, like *intercolumnia*, is erroneously used for arch, eventually supported by columns. It seems quite possible that each of the three streets was to end at the piazza with such an archway, which must have been higher than the colonnades on each side.

32. One Roman ell = 0.5585 meters.

33. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 935: ". . . & a primo scalarum gradu usque ad praedictas primi vestibuli portas LXXV. cubitorum latitudo, longitudo vero ultra CXX. passus protendebatur."

34. There are two possibilities for the location of the new entrance to the Palace. It is possible that it was to be on the

same site as the medieval gate. It would then have been located on the same site as the entrance later built by Paul II, which is shown on one of Heemskerck's drawings dating from the 1530's. Ch. Huelsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, II, Berlin, 1916, pl. 130. If, on the other hand, we interpret Manetti literally, the entrance would have been placed about 30 meters farther east, as on our plan, in fact almost exactly on the site of the actual Portone di bronzo, between the point where the wall from the great tower now ends and the steps that were planned in front of the Basilica. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 932: "In extremitate hujus muri, qui a Turri incipiebat ea parte, qua cum illo divisore jungebatur, duae magnae Turres erigebantur, in quarum meditullio porta cum fornice triumphali condebatur, unde in Palatium introibatur." The *murus divisor* (cf. above, footnote 28) would then obviously have had to extend for some distance east of the northern campanile which was planned at the façade of the Basilica. However, the fact that there are these two alternatives for the reconstruction seems not to alter the dimensions of the piazza we are discussing.

connect the two piazzas. The intended layout of these streets is not clear from Manetti's text. The central street is described as leading directly to the central door of the Basilica *per rectam lineam*. The street on the right was to have led straight to the main entrance of the Palace, *recto tramite*. Of the third street, we only know that it was to have gone from the Castel Sant'Angelo to the obelisk *ad eum locum . . . tendebatur*.

How should *per rectam lineam* and *recto tramite* be interpreted? Considering the then existing topographical conditions and the exigencies of the period, were they necessarily intended to be literally straight? It is hard to judge. As a matter of fact, there was already in existence a street connecting the Castel Sant'Angelo with St. Peter's: the Borgo Vecchio, which, as its name implies, was of ancient origin. While not completely straight, there were no excessive detours; hence it was probably considered adequate. There is no way of knowing whether it was intended that the project should retain this street or whether a new one was envisaged. It seems probable that a form of ideal project was established which, in its execution, was to follow the line of least resistance in that it would have been adapted to existing topographical conditions.

Apart from this, Manetti's description of the streets causes many more difficulties in interpretation. From the text, we can draw no satisfactory conclusions on the relative position of the streets to each other. There are three basic alternatives: first, that the streets were planned to start at three different points on the piazza in front of the Castel Sant'Angelo and converge toward the west; second, that they were planned to radiate from the Castel Sant'Angelo; and third, that they were planned as parallels. As will be seen, none of these basic possibilities offers a satisfactory solution.

At the outset we can eliminate the alternative that the streets were planned to converge toward the west, for we have already seen above that the piazza in front of the Castel Sant'Angelo, on which the streets were to be based, was not wider than the distance between the streets at their western terminals.

The second possibility is that the streets were intended to radiate from the Castel Sant'Angelo.³⁵

As can be seen on Lanciani's *Forma Urbis*,³⁶ a central street actually did run to the central portal of the Basilica, which must have ended at the gate of the Castel Sant'Angelo facing the Borgo. This street must have been at right angles to the bridge in front of the fortress. It seems obvious that the central street described by Manetti would have followed the same course. A point on the piazza opposite the gate of the Castel Sant'Angelo would then have been the center from which the streets would have radiated, according to the alternative which we are now considering. It is worth noting that this center would not have been in the middle of the long side of the piazza but would have been closer to its southern side.

At that time, all traffic from the Campo Marzio to the Borgo had to pass the Ponte Elio, then within the walls of the Castel Sant'Angelo and out through the gate facing the Borgo. Thus it would have had to cross the projected piazza before reaching the streets leading to the Vatican. Under these circumstances, therefore, it would seem natural for the three streets to radiate from a point on the west side of the piazza opposite the gate of the fortress.

We have already seen that the distance between the two side streets at their western terminals would have had to be approximately 125 meters.³⁷ The distance from the piazza in front of the

35. It is important to examine this problem, since many scholars have taken it for granted that the streets were intended to be laid out in this manner. Dehio (*op.cit.*, p. 247) states: "Den Anfang bildet ein freizulegender Platz bei Ponte und Castell St. Angelo. Von diesem laufen (kaum parallel, wie Manetti insgesamt verstanden wird, sondern eher radial divergierend) drei mit Hallen eingefasste Strassen auf einen zweiten, den am Fusse des vaticanischen Hügels sich ausbreitenden Hauptplatz."

36. Lanciani, *op.cit.*, pl. 14.

37. This measurement can only be approximate, even assuming that the locations of the obelisk and the main entrance to the Palace could be well established. The statement that the streets were to lead toward these points may, of course, leave a large margin for deviation. This being so, we need not concern ourselves with the fact that there would be a slight difference in distance between the streets at their terminal points if they were planned to be parallel instead of radiating.

Castel Sant'Angelo to the façade of the atrium of the Basilica was to be approximately 750 meters.³⁸ Thus, the angle formed by the three streets at their eastern terminus would, apparently, have been very sharp. For this reason, this alternative presents a difficulty, in that the streets would have converged at the piazza, somewhere near S. Maria in Traspontina, at too sharp an angle to provide for feasible building space for some distance. If the western end of this piazza had been planned substantially closer to the Vatican than has been postulated here, this difficulty would not exist. But there is no reason to assume that this was the case.³⁹

The objection of inadequate distance between the three streets at their terminal points is obviated by the alternative that they were planned as parallels. However, the evidence for this alternative is no stronger than for either of the others we have considered.

In this discussion, we have confined ourselves to outlining only the basic alternatives. Modifications might be introduced which could eliminate some of the difficulties we have noted. But even this brings us no nearer to a solution to the problem, for not only does the text give us no clue as to the layout of these streets but also so little is known about the topography of the Borgo at the time the plan was conceived. All we know is that the old central street, the Borgo Vecchio, existed; whether or not it was to be preserved in the new plan is a matter of pure speculation.

In any event, the new plan would seem to have been laid out with a relatively strongly emphasized axiality, since Manetti specifically describes the central street as going from the Castel Sant'Angelo straight toward the center of the façade of the Basilica. If by this was meant that the already existing Borgo Vecchio was to have been replaced by a new, completely straight street, then the whole project, involving streets, piazzas and main buildings, would in fact have incorporated the first strictly axial town plan conceived in the fifteenth century in Italy. No mediaeval town plans, not even for towns founded in the High Middle Ages, suggest such strict axiality. If the three streets were conceived as a symmetrical unit, the plan would, of course, have been even more Renaissance in character. While there is no evidence of this in the description, we may surmise that it was intended.

The next step in our reconstruction of the external features of the project is to examine Manetti's statements on the buildings and decorative features which were to characterize the reconstructed Borgo. The information in the text on this subject is very succinct.

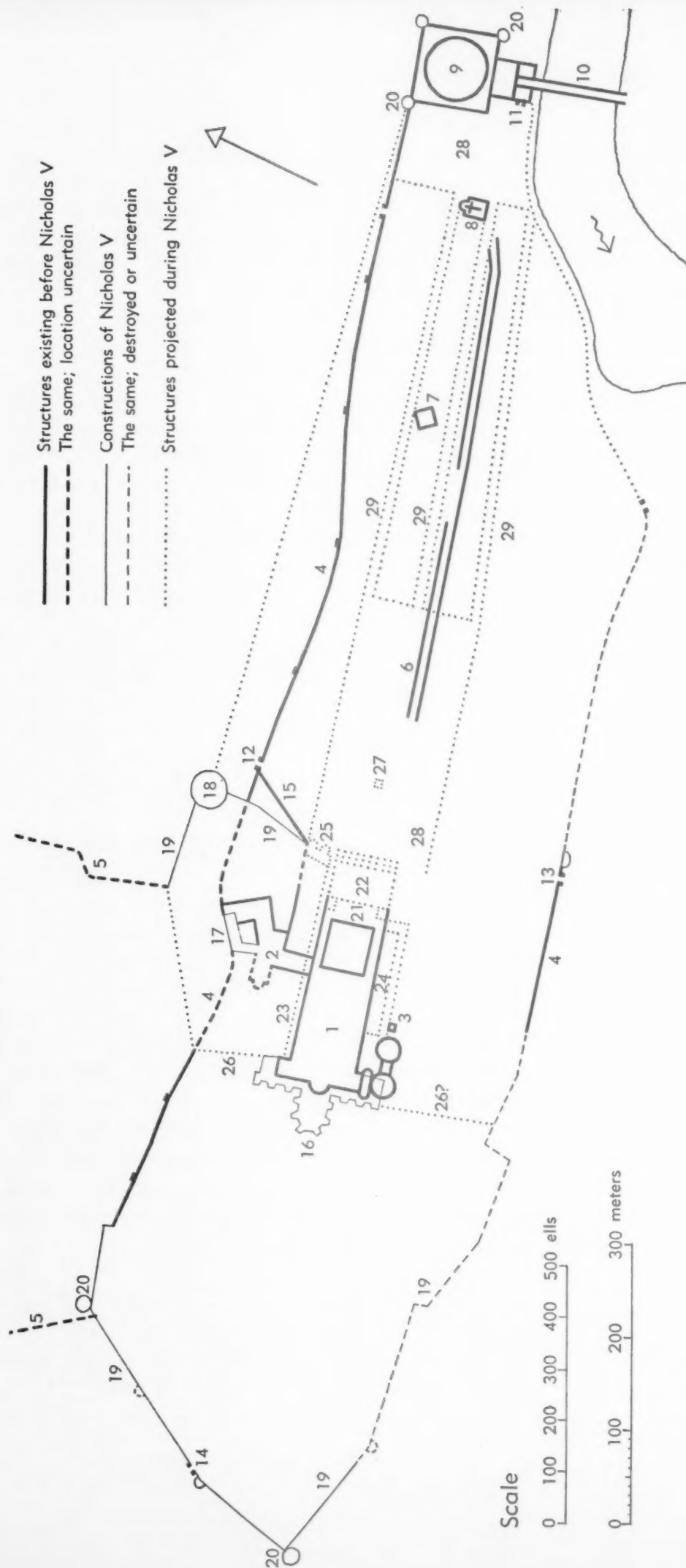
The data on constructions for the two piazzas are especially meager. For the piazza in front of the Castel Sant'Angelo no building of any type is mentioned, and all we know from the text about the Platea S. Petri is that there was to be a colonnade on that side of the piazza on which the three streets were to terminate.

As has already been noted (see note 28 above), the form of the sentence in Manetti's text describing this colonnade is obscure. What was probably intended was that each street would have terminated in some form of arch opening onto the piazza. These three arches would probably have been higher than the colonnade. Although the text makes no mention of the longer sides of the piazza, it may also have been intended that they too were to be colonnaded, while the fourth side was to be left open to the steps leading up to the smaller area in front of the façade of the atrium. Since Manetti's text makes no mention whatever of buildings planned to surround the two piazzas, we are unable to draw any conclusions on this subject.

38. It may be assumed, for reasons which the author will present in a later publication, that the façade of the old Basilica corresponded with the plans for a new façade. The new atrium, as described by Manetti (Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 935), would have corresponded in its main features to that of the old Basilica.

39. The alternative with radiating streets corresponds to what was later evolved under Alexander VI, when the Borgo Nuovo was opened up. This street, which disappeared when the

Via della Conciliazione was constructed in the 1940's, ran straight to the main entrance of the Vatican Palace. While there is no evidence to support such an hypothesis, it is tempting to think that it may have originated in the project of Nicholas V. At the opening up of the Borgo Nuovo, Alexander VI had to order the ancient pyramid, the Meta Romuli, to be partly demolished. It is worth noting that, according to our reconstruction of the project, the corresponding street would hardly have touched this monument. (See diagram.)

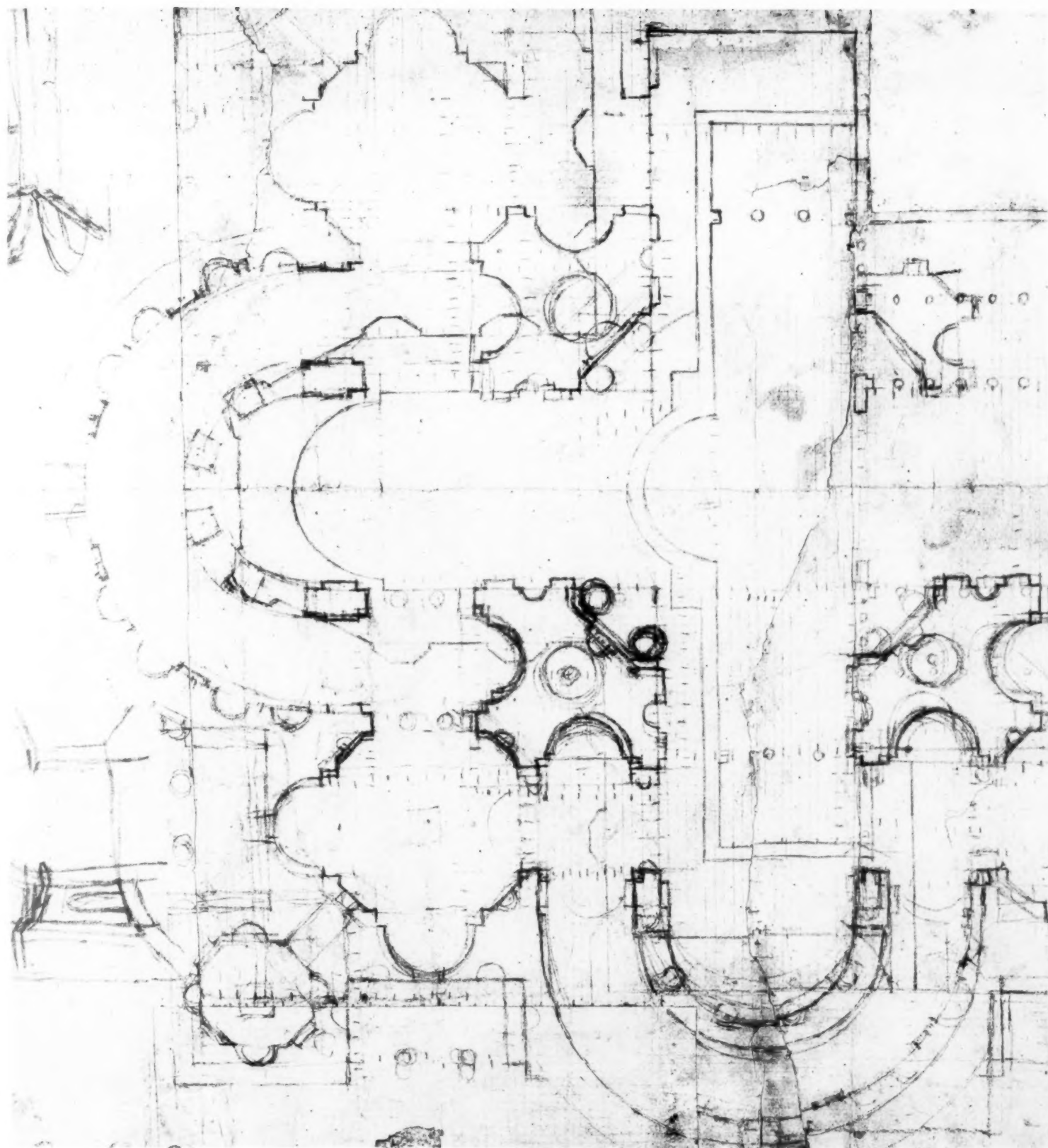


The Borgo Leonino and the Vatican at the time of Nicholas V with attempted reconstruction of the project

1. Basilica of St. Peter 2. Vatican Palace 3. Original location of the obelisk 4. Leonine wall 5. Wall of Nicholas III 6. Borgo vecchio 7. Meta Romuli 8. Old Church of S. Maria in Traspontina 9. Castel Sant'Angelo 10. Ponte Sant'Angelo 11. Gate at

the Castel Sant'Angelo 12. Porta S. Petri 13. Porta Cavalleggeri 14. Porta Pertusa 15. Wall of Boniface VIII 16. New choir of the Basilica 17. New wing of the Vatican Palace 18. The great tower of Nicholas V 19. New walls of Nicholas V 20. Towers

projected location of the obelisk 28. Projected piazzas in front of the Basilica and in front of the Castel Sant'Angelo 29. Projected streets.



Drawing by Bramante for St. Peter's, showing the new Basilica and the choir of Nicholas V (thin line)



Manetti's information on constructions lining the streets is much more valuable, even if still somewhat meager. He states that each street was to have been lined with continuous porticoes on both sides, within which were to have been shops and small workshops, with dwellings on the upper stories, above the porticoes.

All art historians who have thus far studied this project, or who have mentioned it incidentally in some other context, have seemed to regard this arrangement of building facilities not only as an innovation in its period but also as being characteristic of the Renaissance.⁴⁰ These scholars have apparently singled out the plans for continuous porticoes along straight streets as especially typical of the fifteenth century. Their view is that this was the first period of the Italian Renaissance characterized both by a revival of ancient architectural forms and by planning on a scale far more extensive than was possible in the Middle Ages.

In his recent book on mediaeval town architecture in Tuscany, Wolfgang Braunfels gives us reason to believe that Nicholas V's plans for Rome did not, in fact, constitute a break with urban traditions of the immediately preceding period, which has generally been considered as dark and confused when compared with the oncoming Renaissance.⁴¹ What Braunfels has demonstrated is that a great many features which are generally considered typical of Renaissance urbanism actually existed as early as the thirteenth century in such mediaeval Italian towns as Florence, Pisa, and Siena, as well as in most of the other important towns of the same period. By so doing, he has shown once more how difficult it is to determine a legitimate boundary line between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Street porticoes, as a matter of fact, which had their origins in ancient Roman town architecture, were common in mediaeval towns in southern and western Europe, and especially in Italy. In the early Middle Ages, according to Braunfels, porticoes were always planned along the streets; there were even special statutes to regulate their height and width.⁴² For a variety of reasons, many of these porticoes were later closed. In Tuscany, they were closed in many cases as early as the thirteenth century because the streets were considered too dark and unsafe. In Rome, where they seem to have been a common feature of most of the streets up to the end of the fifteenth century, they did not disappear until the time of Sixtus IV (1471-1484) in the 1480's.⁴³

As to provisions for new streets, Braunfels points out that wherever new streets were opened up in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, or new towns mapped out in accordance with a given plan, the streets were straight and relatively broad.⁴⁴ He cites various examples to show that street planning along these lines was prevalent in the Middle Ages. In Tuscany, for example, architects were very successful in their efforts to make towns as neat and clean as possible, with homogeneous buildings lining straight streets. Braunfels also states that the sanitation practices of Tuscan towns were far more highly developed than is generally assumed.⁴⁵

It is worth noting that the porticoes, although they were already mostly abandoned in the towns of Tuscany, were to be preserved in the project for the Borgo Leonino. The explanation for this may be that the mediaeval system was especially strong as a tradition in Rome.⁴⁶

40. Cf. A. Springer, *Raffaël und Michelangelo*, 3rd ed. Leipzig, n.d., I, p. 135; H. Geymüller, *Nachtrag zur Monographie Albertis und dessen Verhältnis zu Bernardo Rossellino (Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toskana, III)*, Munich, 1906, p. 7; H. Willich, *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Italien (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft)*, Wildpark-Potsdam, n.d., p. 94.

41. Braunfels, *Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana*, Berlin, 1953.

42. *ibid.*, p. 114.

43. E. Re, "Maestri di Strada," *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria*, XLIII, 1920, p. 33; Braunfels, *op.cit.*, note 346.

44. Braunfels, *op.cit.*, p. 86.

45. *ibid.*, pp. 106f.

46. It is possible that the proposed streets with continuous porticoes were considered as replacements for the so-called Portico di S. Pietro, the mediaeval porticoed street which went from the Castel Sant'Angelo to the Basilica of St. Peter. It is mentioned in the Itinerary of Benedict in the twelfth century, in the so-called *Ordo Romanus*. According to Lanciani, it probably followed the direction of the later Borgo Vecchio. R. Lanciani, *La destruction de Rome antique*, Lille, n.d., p. 122. According to Adinolfi (*La portica di S. Pietro, ossia Borgo nell'età di mezzo*, Rome, 1859, p. 6), this was a long, straight street with porticoes, consisting of columns supporting a roof covered with leaden tiles, thus constituting a covered passage from the bridge in front of the Castel Sant'.

Manetti's brief description of houses with portico and workshop on the ground floor and dwellings in the upper stories is of a type with houses which were common throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ This type also has striking similarities with the houses which were prevalent in ancient Rome and Ostia, where the Roman *insulae* had the same disposition of premises. In various studies of the Roman tenement houses and their evolution, Axel Boëthius has pointed out that the system used in the Roman *insulae*, with their open *tabernae* on the ground floor, and dwellings in the upper stories, survived into the Middle Ages as a building tradition which has only slightly changed. After the fall of Rome, some of these ancient *insulae* were left to collapse into ruins; others may have continued in use for several centuries. But building construction in the Middle Ages continued to embody the ancient traditions, not only in Rome but also in several other mediaeval centers in the Western Mediterranean area. The architects of the Renaissance continued these traditions in part, and in part revived other ancient elements of architecture. Thus, as far as domestic construction was concerned, this link with antique building traditions in Rome was never broken.⁴⁸

To this day, in old Rome, mediaeval buildings can be found in streets such as the Via dei Cappellari and the Via del Pellegrino which conform to the system of porticoes, shops, and dwellings described by Manetti. According to Boëthius, these can be considered as direct descendants of the Roman *insulae*. True, the form had degenerated from the antique, for it was only in the main lines of their planning that these mediaeval buildings resembled the great Roman *insulae*. This also applies to the most common type of mediaeval house, with their narrow façades fronting on the streets. These houses carried on the traditions from the large *insulae Romanae* in an abbreviated form, known already from the Forma Urbis and in the remains of Ostia.⁴⁹

In sum, the project for the Borgo Leonino carried on the principles of domestic architecture which were prevalent during the Middle Ages and which, in great part, had their roots in ancient Roman civilization. But in the Borgo Leonino these principles were now to be brought out in their pure form and perfected, so that the plans were to adhere in larger measure than before to their ancient prototypes.

Let us now consider the Pope's plan to move the great obelisk from its old location, south of the Basilica, to the center of the new piazza. The text states that it would have been placed on a line between the central street of the quarter and the central portal of the Basilica. It was to be part of a great monument having four colossal bronze statues of the Evangelists on its sides and being surmounted by another bronze statue, of Christ. As we know, the project for moving the obelisk was not executed until 1586. Had Nicholas V given effect to his plan, it would have been the first time since the days of the Roman Empire that an obelisk had been used as a decorative motif. Furthermore, the Pope would have anticipated by many years the use made of obelisks by Renaissance and Baroque artists.

The location planned for this monument has an especial importance. By placing it in the center

Angelo to the Basilica. The portico was already in ruins in the Middle Ages; by the fourteenth century it seems to have disappeared completely. Adinolfi, *op.cit.*, p. 39. Great importance was given to the portico in the itineraries of the Middle Ages and, in the thirteenth century its name, Porticus S. Petri, came to signify the whole Leonine quarter. It is also mentioned by Alberti as an example of a porticoed street, in *De re aedificatoria*, Bk. VIII, chap. 6: "Comperio inter ceteras apud Romam duas fuisse huius generis vias longe dignissimas admiratione. . . . Alteram a ponte ab basilicam usque Petri pedes MMD. opertam porticu ex marmoreis columnis & plumbea tectura." The importance given to this portico in tradition might be one reason for building not only one but three magnificent porticoed streets to the Basilica.

47. Cf. W. Paatz, "Ein antikisches Stadthauptypus im Mittelalterlichen Italien," *Römisches Jahrbuch f. Kunstgesch.*,

III, 1939, pp. 129-140.

48. A. Boëthius, "Roman and Greek Town Architecture," *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, LIV, 1948:3, p. 18: ". . . the Roman *insula* as an idea and very often as a ruin or in use persisted through medieval times with a most important message from Imperial Rome to times of revival to come. In the shape renewed at the Renaissance it remains the ruling element in oldish quarters all over Italy, France, and Switzerland." Cf. A. Boëthius, "Appunti sul carattere razionale e sull'importanza dell'architettura domestica di Roma imperiale," *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, Rome, 1937, pp. 21-32: and "Den romerska storstadens hyreshusarkitektur och dess bebyggelsegeografiska sammanhang" (with an English summary), *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, I, 1944:4.

49. A. Boëthius, "Notes from Ostia," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, St. Louis, Mo., 1951, pp. 443ff.

of the new piazza it would have formally become the dominating feature of the whole area—not only the focal point of the piazza itself but also of all who approached the Basilica by the central street of the quarter. This symmetrical location of a monument for the purpose of giving it even greater monumentality was an entirely new concept, one which would have been alien to the mediaeval mentality. In the Middle Ages, it was not considered necessary to place a monument in the axis of a street or piazza, or centered in front of a building.⁵⁰ The plan for the obelisk, together with the axiality of the whole town plan, was thus a departure from tradition, and an innovation of the greatest importance, foreshadowing a new epoch in the history of art.

IV

In Manetti's words, the Borgo was to be rebuilt into "the city of the Curia." From this it might reasonably be assumed that the principal social function of the reconstructed quarter was to provide housing and offices for that body. It is remarkable, therefore, that the text makes no mention whatever of any buildings or facilities for the officials for whom, presumably, the quarter was replanned.

Some scholars have assumed that the south side of the piazza in front of the Basilica was to have been devoted to housing facilities for the canons of St. Peter's, or for members of the Papal Curia itself.⁵¹ In this connection, let us note once more that the text makes no mention whatever of any buildings planned to surround the Platea S. Petri. Manetti himself specifically states that the canons, who did not belong to the Papal Curia, were to be housed in buildings to be situated south of the Basilica and its atrium.⁵² Buildings in this location had no direct access to the piazza. This is the only reference that Manetti makes in his description of the "new city of the Curia" to housing facilities for any of the ecclesiastics connected with the Vatican.

What Manetti actually describes, in point of fact, is a quarter apparently planned exclusively for occupation by merchants and craftsmen having no particular connection with the Curia. Thus, if the population planned for the Borgo had actually been limited to the categories mentioned by Manetti, nothing of the commerce in the new quarter would seem to have distinguished it from the activity of the rest of the city of Rome.

This emphasis in Manetti's text on facilities for merchants and craftsmen as residents of the Borgo is explainable in terms of the concern that was felt at that time for repopulating the deserted quarter. The Pope wished to create in the Borgo modern and beautiful surroundings for the Vatican; in those days, a flourishing community could not be conceived without a prosperous merchant class. Eugenius IV had already tried to stimulate interest in moving to the Borgo by offering great economic and social favors to all who came to settle there.⁵³ This practice was not unusual in fifteenth-century Rome.⁵⁴

The inhabitants of the new quarter were to be disposed in such a way that the bulk of each profession was to be located in a given area. This disposition of the professions closely followed the urban traditions prevalent in most mediaeval communities.⁵⁵

It is interesting to note in this project that the craftsmen were to be disposed in such a way that the money-changers and drapers, who were high on the social scale of the middle class, were to be in the central street, while smaller craftsmen had to be satisfied with the side streets.

50. Cf. Braunfels (*op.cit.*, pp. 170ff.) on the planning of the quarters surrounding S. Maria del Fiore in Florence.

51. L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, I, 1925, p. 521; Willich, *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Italien*, p. 94.

52. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 935: "A sinistra enim porticu plures commodae & opportunae pro Regularibus Presbyteris mansiones (construebantur). . . ." and farther on: ". . . a sinistris autem commodae & opportunae Regularium Presbyterorum Templo ipsi in divinis cultibus continue servientium mansiones construebantur, quae usque ad illas paulo ante com-

memoratas contiguae ducebantur. . . ."

53. Paschini, *Roma nel Rinascimento*, p. 159.

54. Nicholas V resorted to it in 1447 and 1448 for the Rione Monti, which had been partly abandoned. People who wanted to settle in this quarter were exempted from all taxes except those charged by the Roman Commune, and were given certain rights of asylum. Paschini, *op.cit.*, p. 160.

55. Cf. P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme*, Paris, 1926, I, pp. 456ff.

Thus, assuming that the central street of the quarter was the most desirable, a social hierarchy was established corresponding to the disposition of the Borgo.⁵⁶

We may assume that some of the minor officials of the Curia, including clerics and many of the humanists, were to be housed in the living quarters over the porticoes or, possibly, in buildings omitted in Manetti's description. A few of the most important members of the Curia were evidently to be lodged in the Papal Palace itself. In his description of the Palace, Manetti mentions offices and dwellings for the Camerarius, who was a cardinal, and for the Thesaurarius.⁵⁷

In his description of the Borgo project, Manetti speaks of the Curia without any qualifications. Some scholars have assumed that, since the Curia also includes all the cardinals, it was intended to move the residences of the cardinals, presumably those residing in Rome, to the Borgo.⁵⁸ This conclusion seems too sweeping. The fact that Manetti speaks of the Borgo as the city of the Curia does not necessarily imply that the cardinals' residences were to be moved.⁵⁹ One important objection to this assumption is that palaces planned for the cardinals in the Borgo would have represented a most important feature of the physical aspect of the quarter; it would therefore have been most unlikely that Manetti would have failed to mention their existence, or at least state their location. Furthermore, such a step would have been alien to the traditions of fifteenth century Rome, for from ancient times the cardinals had been closely connected with their titular churches, where there were residences set aside for their use in which they could live permanently, if they wished.⁶⁰

It must also be remembered that just at the time of the Pontificate of Nicholas V the pretensions of the cardinals were increasing to a point where it would have been almost impossible to provide a large number of members of the College with new residences in the Borgo. It would have been still more difficult to house all the cardinals within the Vatican Palace itself.

It is true that toward the end of the century a few palaces for cardinals were actually built in the Borgo which had no connection with titular churches. Among these were the Palazzo dei Cavalieri del Santo Sepolcro and the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia.⁶¹ It is, of course, impossible to

56. Gregor Paulsson has pointed out to me that these urbanistic principles had already been formulated by Alberti in the treatise *Della famiglia* (completed in 1443). It is true that streets were specialized as to different crafts and professions very early in the Middle Ages. By expounding this tradition as a theoretical principle, Alberti was the first to rationalize it.

57. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 933. These officials were already housed in the Vatican Palace prior to the time of Nicholas V. Apparently facilities for them were to be provided in the new edifice as well. Cf. Ehrle-Egger, *Der Vatikanische Palast*, pp. 61f. Manetti's brief statement on the housing of some members of the Curia in the Papal Palace was more extensively developed by Vasari, but probably without more precise information than he could get from Manetti's dry text. In his biography of Bernardo Rossellino Vasari describes the new palace which the Pope wished to build (*Vite*, ed. Milanesi, III, p. 100): "Volle, oltre ciò, edificare il palazzo papale con tanta magnificenza e grandezza, e con tante comodità e vaghezza, che e' fusse per l'uno e per l'altro conto il più bello e maggior edificio di Cristianità: volendo che servisse non solo alla persona del sommo pontefice, capo de' Cristiani; e non solo al sacro collegio de' cardinali, che, essendo il suo consiglio ed aiuto, gli arebbono a esser sempre intorno; ma che ancora vi stessino commodamente tutti i negozj, spedizioni e giudizj, della corte. . . ."

58. This has been accepted as fact by certain scholars, even as late as Piero Tomei, who cites it in his valuable survey of the architecture of Rome in the fifteenth century. *L'architettura a Roma nel quattrocento*, Rome, 1942. Describing the Piazza S. Pietro in the project, he says (p. 14): "Piazza monumentale che doveva avere nel lato di fondo la nuova basilica ricostruita, a destra il palazzo pontificio, a sinistra i palazzi cardinalizi. . . ." This may be an error originating in a later source than

Manetti. Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his biography of Nicholas V, mentions the Vatican Palace as a building where the whole of the Curia could live, "dove poteva istare tutta la corte in Roma." *Vite di uomini illustri*, p. 41. The project for the Borgo, however, is never mentioned by this author. As far as the writer knows, the first time the cardinals were explicitly said to have been intended to move into the Borgo was in Fra Mariano's *Itinerarium*, published in 1518. He states that "volens Vaticanum circum circa includere ac in ea clausura apud pontificem cardinales etiam habitarent. . . ." E. Bulletti, "Itinerarium Urbis Romae di Fra Mariano da Firenze," *Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, Rome, 1931, II, p. 85. Even here, it is only the Vatican that is mentioned. The statement is presumably too late to be considered a document of importance in this case.

59. In Manetti's account of the Pope's speech to the cardinals on his deathbed (Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 950) the Borgo is again mentioned, and this time more explicitly as the living quarter of the Curia: ". . . cum magno ac novo Vico adjacente, pro digna quadam & secunda cum capitis, tum omnium membrorum, & totius Curiae habitatione, jampridem aedificare ac reformare inchoavimus." The question of the reliability of this speech can be left aside in this context, the important fact being Manetti's interpretation of the project for the Borgo.

60. Most of these palaces, which were all rather small and unpretentious, had suffered severely during the preceding century. As a result, a few cardinals had undertaken to construct new residences at their titular churches, or to restore the existing mediaeval buildings. Cf. Tomei, *op.cit.*, pp. 34ff., 57 and 60.

61. The first of these was built in the 1480's for Cardinal Domenico della Rovere and the second was begun in the 1490's by Cardinal Adriano da Corneto. Tomei, *op.cit.*, pp. 194 and 231.

state whether the building of these palaces originated in the project of Nicholas V forty years earlier. In view of the traditions of the College itself and of the City of Rome, and of the increasing pretensions of the cardinals, it seems most unlikely that the Pope would have wished to move all the cardinals into the Borgo.

By concentrating the whole of the Curia in the Borgo the ecclesiastical character of this quarter would have become more marked than had previously been the case, and there would have been concentrated here, relatively isolated from the rest of Rome, a substantial proportion of the foreign and intellectual element of the life of the city. Manetti fails to state in his text why the Pope wished to concentrate the Curia in the Borgo. It may well have been simply a matter of rendering the administration of the church more efficient. However, it is also possible that the Pope, conscious of the traditional underlying tension between the Holy See and the people of Rome and also of the notorious fickleness of the Roman nobility, may have wished to render the administration of the Church less dependent on the indigenous population.

V

Our reconstruction of the plan for the Borgo, and the discussion of the problems connected with it, have shown that while the project was conceived at a time when the Renaissance is generally considered to have been developing rapidly in all the important centers of Italian civilization, it remained nonetheless within the tradition of certain urbanistic principles which had been prevalent for almost two centuries in many mediaeval towns. We have seen that these principles, which evidently guided the architect of our plan, were part of a continuing tradition and, consequently, were neither new nor peculiar to the fifteenth century. All the basic ideas of the plan reflected traditional principles: the piazzas in front of the important buildings; the disposition of dwellings and facilities for the inhabitants; and the porticoes lining monumental streets leading to the Basilica, which was the ideal center of the quarter and the focus toward which all was directed. Our analysis has shown, however, that while these traditional urbanistic principles were the basis for the plan, they had been refined and realized more consistently than ever before. The result is the rationalization typical of the Renaissance. This is what makes the project important and interesting in the history of town planning of the period.

The position of the Borgo project in the history of the Italian Renaissance brings us to the question of who was the architect of the plan. This question is of the greatest interest not only because the project was the first of its kind in Rome but also because it was the first town plan evolved after the beginning of the great epoch of Humanism in the fifteenth century.

We have already noted that Dehio, writing some seventy years ago, was the first scholar to attempt an analysis of Manetti's text, and that to this day he has remained the only art historian who has actually penetrated the problems connected with the project for the Borgo.⁶² Dehio looked upon the Borgo project as a typical expression of the Renaissance, and, therefore, he wished to ascribe it to an architect who truly represented the new age. Who could have suited Dehio's qualifications more perfectly than Leon Battista Alberti?

Later in this paper, we will discuss this attribution *in extenso*. At this stage, it suffices to note that Dehio's attribution to Alberti is largely based on his own conception of the Renaissance—which, he believed, found in the Borgo its typical expression. This being the case, any discussion of the attribution of the project to Alberti must be with reference to the validity of Dehio's conception of the Renaissance. Before proceeding to discuss the attribution itself, therefore, we must consider first Dehio's approach to it.

Dehio belonged to the school which believed that there was a complete break between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages; and in the Borgo project he saw this break reflected.⁶³ Of

62. *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft.*, III, 1880, pp. 241-257.

63. Dehio, *op.cit.*, pp. 244f.

the five great undertakings which Manetti ascribes to Nicholas V, Dehio classifies the repair of the city walls and the station churches as being manifestations of a mediaeval tradition. He therefore limits his discussion to the three undertakings which he considers to be in the spirit of the Renaissance and which for this reason appear to him to form an integral unit: the Borgo Leonino, the Vatican Palace, and the Basilica.

Dehio's classification of these five undertakings into "Renaissance" and "mediaeval" seems entirely too arbitrary. The reconstruction of the Basilica was not such a departure from tradition if compared with the gigantic plans conceived in the preceding century for new cathedrals in Florence and Siena. Similarly, comprehensive plans for towns and quarters had been evolved long before the time of Nicholas V, in which entire groups of buildings were conceived as units. There are, as a matter of fact, several examples of town planning in Tuscany on a large scale as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶⁴

It is equally questionable to dismiss the repairs of the walls and the station churches as being in the mediaeval tradition. It is true that in mediaeval town planning city walls had an enormous importance;⁶⁵ but it can be argued equally that the repair of the ruined walls of Rome, thus rendering the city capable of resisting attack and siege, was as much an expression of the Renaissance love of the rational and of the preoccupation of that time with defensible constructions as was the rebuilding of the Vatican Palace.

As for the station churches, it is true that our knowledge of repairs on them is slight. Concern for these traditional churches can be regarded as an expression of the mediaeval idea of a town as a *civitas sancta*, a sacred city existing around a few important sanctuaries.⁶⁶ Braunfels has pointed out that this ideal still survived in the fifteenth century,⁶⁷ and it would naturally have applied more in Rome than in any other city. On the other hand, plans to repair these churches cannot be considered as having been exclusively in the mediaeval tradition, for it is evident from what little is left of the restorations made during this Pontificate that the Pope wished the churches redecorated according to the taste of his time.⁶⁸

It is true, however, that in part the underlying motives of Nicholas V for his undertakings represented a departure from the mediaeval tradition. For while there was a typical mediaeval concern for the glory of the Church which the Pope himself seems to have strongly emphasized, as we can see from his speech to the Cardinals on his deathbed,⁶⁹ Nicholas V himself can also be characterized as the first Humanist Pope, by virtue of his interest in classical literature and in his magnificent building projects, aimed at exalting his personal *gloria* and *dignitas*.

Much has happened in the field of the history of civilization in the seventy years since Dehio was writing. Braunfels' recent study clearly demonstrates that Dehio's approach to Renaissance town architecture and, in fact, his whole conception of the Renaissance no longer correspond to what is now known about the evolution of Italian civilization between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is obvious that our conception of the Renaissance, as the antithesis of the Middle Ages, must be revised.

64. Braunfels, *op.cit.*, pp. 77f., 99f.

65. *ibid.*, pp. 45ff., 52.

66. *ibid.*, *op.cit.*, pp. 134ff.

67. *ibid.*, p. 138.

68. There is no doubt that much work was carried out on the churches during the Pontificate of Nicholas V. Cf. Müntz, *op.cit.*, pp. 71, 139ff. But of the details of this we know little. The best data we have concern S. Stefano Rotondo, which was repaired by Bernardo Rossellino; for this church a new portico and a new roof were built, and the second circle of columns closed. Rossellino also executed some decorative sculptures, such as door frames, windows, altars, and a new

floor. *Ibid.*, pp. 141f. All this decoration was in the usual early Renaissance style found in Rome dating from that period—quite simple and with an austerity which seems to border on poverty. This is the severe Roman style, as opposed to that of the contemporary Florentine decorative sculpture, with its rich ornamental flow and love of detail.

69. Muratori, *op.cit.*, cols. 949ff. In his speech Nicholas V declared that the chief motive for his interest in art and literature, and for his enormous building projects, had been, simply, to exalt the dignity of the Holy See, and thus of the whole Roman Catholic Church. Regarding the authenticity of this speech, see note 19.

VI

Before we discuss Dehio's attribution, we must try to establish the date of the project as precisely as possible. On this point we can only reach a tentative conclusion, since there is little evidence on which to base a precise date. Obviously, the *terminus ante quem* cannot be later than 1455, when the Pope died.

Let us first review the types and scope of construction that we know to have been in progress in Rome during the 1450's.⁷⁰ The city walls were restored and fortified in the early years of the decade.⁷¹ Several other fortifications were also restored at this time, including the Castel Sant'Angelo and the defensive walls around the Borgo and the Vatican. As early as the 1440's, in the beginning of the Pontificate of Nicholas V, streets were repaired and paved.⁷² These diverse activities could all have been undertaken without reference to a plan to rebuild the Borgo Leonino; hence our knowledge of them makes no contribution toward a conclusion as to a date for this project. Not even the new statutes granted by the Pope to the *Maestri di strada* in 1452, in order to improve the conditions of the city, give us a secure date for the project, since we do not know if this event can be considered as integral with a total plan for all of Rome.⁷³

In the Vatican Palace, intense building activity was apparently already in progress in the late 1440's.⁷⁴ It was mostly of a minor character, however, and the data in the accounts are so meager and vague that it has proved impossible to identify any of the work with elements of the plan for reconstructing the Palace which Manetti describes. This also applies to the one substantial addition made to the Palace at this time—a new wing, which was later to house the Appartamento Borgia and the *stanze* of Raphael.⁷⁵ This wing was probably begun about 1450, when the designation *sala nuova* first appears in the accounts.⁷⁶ The wing was finished in 1454.⁷⁷

Few dates have come to light involving other buildings in the Borgo which are known to have been part of the project described by Manetti. The new choir—or "tribuna," as it is designated in the accounts—of the Basilica of St. Peter's was begun in 1452, when the first payment on

70. The payments for this activity were recorded in the Papal accounts. There are various reasons, however, why they cannot be relied on as a source for dating the project for rebuilding the Borgo. The accounts of Nicholas V are among the documents published by Müntz (*op.cit.*). They constitute dangerous ground on which to base dates or statistics because of the casual, incomplete manner in which all accounts for that period were kept. Furthermore, even for what they are, they are incomplete, since no accounts were published for the year 1448. Therefore, until further investigations have been made in the archives, the accounts as we know them must be used with great reserve as a source. The Archivio di Stato, in which the Papal accounts are preserved, has been reorganized since the 1880's, when Müntz made his studies. It is possible, therefore, that additional data relating to this period may appear.

71. According to the accounts, the city walls were strengthened in the early 1450's. As early as 1447 work was done on the Castel Sant'Angelo. In the years which followed different people were paid for work on the bridge leading to the fortress. Müntz, *op.cit.*, p. 153. In 1450 and 1451 money was paid out for work on the walls surrounding the Borgo Leonino and the Vatican. *Ibid.*, p. 159. In 1452 substantial additional sums were paid out to strengthen the fortifications of the city walls. *Ibid.* We know that it was in this year that the Pope fortified the town on the occasion of the arrival of King Frederick III, who came to Rome to be crowned Emperor. Matthia Palmieri, "De temporibus suis," Tartinius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Florence, 1748, I, col. 241: "Pontifex tum juga Vaticanani, tum Pontificias aedes ad Tibrim usque, & Adriani molem valido muro circumdare aggressus, quo suos illic tuto collocaret, opus magna ex parte absolvit." Palmieri's statement that it was the walls around the Vatican which were fortified is also proved by the fact that in the account of this year work was done on

the Porta Pertusa, and on other structures which are not stated. In one passage we even find the phrase "quali a spexi nele porte e mura di Roma . . . quando venne l'onperadore." Müntz, *op.cit.*, p. 159. Cf. Pastor, *op.cit.*, p. 494ff.

72. While Müntz cites a few payments for work on the streets of Rome (Müntz, *op.cit.*, p. 157; and Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des Papes, nouvelles recherches*, Rome, 1884, p. 59), there are not nearly as many as might be expected. In 1448 the streets leading to the Vatican Palace and to St. Peter's were repaired. In addition, there are records of minor work on the streets of Rome in 1450, 1452, and 1453. (*ibid.*)

73. E. Re, "Maestri di Strada," *Arch. d. Soc. Rom. storia patria*, XLIII, 1920, pp. 12ff.

74. Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des Papes*, 1878, pp. 111-139. Halls were repaired, new windows put in, floors laid with marble, and decorative paintings executed in the existing mediaeval edifice. Such minor activities could have been undertaken as part of a vast plan—it must be borne in mind that the planned reconstruction of Palace, Basilica, and Borgo were described by Manetti as elements of a single plan—but, on the other hand, they could have been undertaken before the new project was even conceived. We are not in a position to draw conclusions on this point.

75. *ibid.*, pp. 112f., 116f., 127ff.

76. Even this date must be considered uncertain, since an already existing room which had been newly repaired and decorated was frequently called *nuova* in the Papal accounts. Ehrle and Egger, *op.cit.*, pp. 95f.

77. According to an inscription on the façade of this wing found by Ehrle and Stevenson. F. Ehrle and E. Stevenson, *Gli affreschi del Pinturicchio nell'Appartamento Borgia*, Rome, 1897, p. 32.

its construction was made.⁷⁸ The only part of the Vatican Palace itself which clearly conforms with an element in the project described by Manetti is the great tower of the Vatican—the Torre di Niccolò V. Of this it can only be stated, however, that it was probably begun before 1454.⁷⁹

From the above it seems clear that virtually nothing in the records of building activity for this period represents evidence on which to base a date for the plan of Nicholas V. Furthermore, we have seen that very little was built which corresponded to any of the elements of the plan. Manetti himself, in his description of the plan, gives no indication of when or where it was conceived. Elsewhere in his biography, however, and in another context, there is an excellent indication that the Pope may have conceived of the plan in the summer of 1450; and for several reasons this seems the most probable date. During the Holy Year of 1450 large amounts of money poured into Rome. The citizens were greatly aided by this largesse, since they must have been extremely poor at this time. The Holy See was enriched by an immense number of offerings which the pilgrims brought to the tombs of the Apostles. Thus the Pope came into control of great economic resources, which he used for promoting art and learning, as well as for the repair of ruined churches and the construction of new buildings.⁸⁰ Manetti explicitly states that these new resources constituted one of the reasons why the Pope began to take such an interest in art. Other reasons were his love for architecture, and his determination to embellish the city, thereby creating a residential town worthy of the successor to the Apostle, from which greater honor and respect would redound to the Church.

In the Holy Year of 1450, the plague came to Rome. A great many pilgrims died; the pestilence reached even the Papal Curia. To avoid contagion, the Pope went to Fabriano for a couple of months, taking with him an entourage of scholars and artists.⁸¹ It was during this enforced retreat at Fabriano, according to Manetti, that the Pope was inspired to initiate new building activity.⁸² Manetti had every reason to be well informed on this point, since in the years which followed he came to Rome frequently as Florentine ambassador, and met the Pope several times. His relations with the Pope seem to have been even on a basis of friendship.

It seems perfectly logical if we consider the Pope's intentions with regard to Rome and his possession of new economic resources, that he should have conceived a plan for new construction while at Fabriano. We may assume, then, that the project for rebuilding the Borgo Leonino was conceived at this time; in any event, the year 1450 should be considered the *terminus post quem* for the conception.

VII

According to Manetti, the original conception of the plan for the Borgo was evolved by Nicholas V himself, while Bernardo Rossellino was appointed to execute the plans.⁸³ Leon Battista

78. Müntz, *op.cit.*, pp. 112f., 116f., 122f.

79. From a document published by Müntz (*op.cit.*, p. 85 n. 3) we know that in September 1454 the ground walls of the tower gave way, burying some of the workers. "A Nicholo da Fabriano sopra la monitione de la fabricha di palazzo . . . duc. uno di papa cont. alui per comprare carne per dare manzare ali manoali che cavavano la dominica matina homini che morino quando cade lo fondamento de la torre nova." It is true that the passage does not explicitly state that this was the great tower in question, but if this data is compared with that given by Manetti in his biography, it is clear that it could only have been the great tower. Manetti declares that the Pope did not want to build the tower higher than 30 ells, since he had understood that the ground beneath it was insufficient to hold the walls: "Ulterius enim eam elevari (voluit) noluit, quam aequabile aedificandi Palatii solum designaretur; ex veteri namque approbatorum Architectorum disciplina nullum, praesertim magnum & excellens aedificium, nisi in plana superficie, & in solo undique adaequato bene specioseque construi intellexerat posse." Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 932. We may assume

that this tower was begun at least a year before the disaster, that is, in 1453, if not even earlier. In May 1452 a tower is mentioned in the accounts for which Bernardo Rossellino constructed a hoist for building materials. However, we do not know if the tower in question was the tower we are discussing. Thus, this notation does not constitute evidence that the Torre di Niccolò V was under construction at that time. This reference might have concerned one of the already existing towers of the mediaeval palace, on which restorations were made at this time. Müntz, *op.cit.*, p. 82 n. 2.

80. Muratori, *op.cit.*, cols. 924f. Cf. Pastor, *op.cit.*, I, p. 461f.

81. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 928. Cf. Pastor, *op.cit.*, p. 444.

82. Muratori, *op.cit.*, cols. 928f.: "Dum itaque Pontifex Fabriani commoraretur, nova aedificandi cogitatio, ad quod propria natura trahebatur, animum suum irrepsit."

83. *ibid.*, col. 938: "... quanto nos majores Nicolao nostro laudes largiri praebereque impellimur, qui suoapte ingenio suaeque industria multos quotidianorum operum variosque Praefectos non injuria constituit, atque illis omnibus Bernardum

Alberti was first mentioned in connection with the Pope's building activities by Giorgio Vasari, who apparently drew on Manetti's biography for his information, as we have seen.⁸⁴ The Pope had already begun to build in Rome, with Bernardo Rossellino's aid, when Alberti arrived. From that time on the Pope consulted Alberti who, Vasari continues, designed a great many buildings to be executed by Rossellino.

As has already been stated, on the basis of Dehio's studies modern art historians generally consider that Alberti himself was the architect, in the sense that he supervised the formulations of the plans.

In his paper, Dehio makes an analysis of the project as we know it from Manetti's description, and compares it with the architectural theories of Alberti as laid down in the *De re aedificatoria*. From this investigation Dehio concludes that the theories of Alberti without question had a strong and immediate influence on the project, not only on the formulation of the whole of the plan but also on its particular features. However, Dehio does not consider it possible to judge whether Alberti himself actually drew up any detailed ground plans or whether he left it to someone else to put his architectural schemes into practice.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, his statement that the authorship of the project must be ascribed to Alberti has generally been accepted by most art historians in recent years.⁸⁶

Our first task in evaluating this attribution is to reconstruct the course of events. Dehio, in his historical reconstruction, assumes that Alberti did not arrive in Rome until 1451. His basis for this assumption is that Rossellino, who was intimately associated with Alberti, does not appear in the Papal accounts until that year. Dehio further cites the chronicle *De temporibus suis* of Matthia Palmieri. Writing of the year 1452, Palmieri states that the Pope had begun the construction of a new Basilica over the Tomb of St. Peter and that the walls were already thirteen ells high; but that this work was interrupted in 1452 as a result of Alberti's advice. In the same year, Palmieri continues, Alberti presented his architectural treatise to the Pope.⁸⁷

According to Dehio, the choir of St. Peter's shown on the plan of Bramante⁸⁸ which has already been mentioned was the same choir on which work was interrupted in 1452. This was to be part of a limited project to restore the ancient Basilica, in which the old naves were to be retained. Dehio assumes that Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* caused a fundamental change in the Pope's plans for the Basilica. After he had been introduced to Alberti's theories, a new project was drawn up incorporating them. This new project, Dehio states, was the one Manetti describes, involving the complete rebuilding of the Basilica from the ground up, the new Palace, and the plan for the Borgo Leonino. Rossellino was appointed to execute these plans, but nothing came of it, and the work was never even begun.⁸⁹

Dehio's reconstruction of events must be rejected for several reasons. First of all, later investiga-

nostrum Florentinum peregrinum latomorum Magistrum unum praeesse voluit, cui ceteri omnes, sive operarii, sive bajuli, sive opifices, & cujuscumque gradus Magistri & professores juxta Pontificias dumtaxat designationes ad unguem obtemperarent?"

84. *Vite*, ed Milanesi, II, pp. 538f. Vasari actually lists the same five major groups of undertakings as Manetti; all of these, he declares, were to be executed by Bernardo Rossellino. He even suggests, though he does not so state explicitly, that the architect and originator of the project was Nicholas V himself. However, he also states that the Pope consulted Alberti. Vasari's *Vite* gives no indication of the relationship between these three men. The mere fact that Alberti is mentioned in his text is interesting; but, as always with Vasari's texts, his statements must be treated with great caution—especially in this case, where the source of his information is evident.

85. Dehio, *op.cit.*, p. 250.

86. Cf. Geymüller, *Alberti Nachtrag*, p. 7; H. Willich,

Die Baukunst der Renaissance, p. 94; P. Tomei, *op.cit.*, p. 13; G. Mancini in his fundamental biography of Alberti (*Vita di Leon Battista Alberti*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1911, p. 303) is more careful and is reluctant to commit himself on this point, since there are no documents to support the theory of Alberti's activity in Rome. He only admits that Alberti was greatly favored by Nicholas V, whom he knew personally.

87. Tartinius, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, I, p. 241: "Pontifex ornatorem Beato Petro Basilicam condere volens, altissima jacet fundamenta, murumque ulnarum tredecim erexit, sed magnum opus, ac cuius veterum aequandum primo Leonis Baptistae consilio intermittit; mors deinde immatura disruptit. "Leo Baptista Albertus vir ingenio praedictus acuto, & perspicaci, bonisque artibus, & doctrina exulto, eruditissimos a se scriptos de architectura libros Pontifici ostendit."

88. Dehio, *op.cit.*, p. 254. Cf. Geymüller, *Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe*, BL.9.

89. Dehio, *op.cit.*, p. 253.

tions by Mancini have brought to light new important data on the life of Alberti. Furthermore, the Papal accounts published by Müntz also contradict Dehio's historical reconstruction on some essential points. Mancini's investigations show that Alberti was in fact in Rome long before 1452. He was a Papal *abbreviatore* in Rome from 1432 to 1434.⁹⁰ When Eugenius IV returned from exile in Florence in 1443 Alberti accompanied him.⁹¹ After that, he was probably in Rome most of the time and in the 1440's he carried out different types of work in Rome and its surroundings.⁹² Thus 1452 cannot be maintained as a *terminus post quem* for Alberti's activity or influence in Rome.

Let us now consider the status of *De re aedificatoria* in the 1450's. We know that it was only finished in Alberti's later years. The first two books might have been written as early as the beginning of the 1450's, even though not, perhaps, in their final shape. The rest of the treatise was not written until later on. Consequently, we cannot claim to have any exact information on Alberti's architectural theories at such an early date. During his lifetime, the whole treatise was known to only a few intimates, and it was not actually printed until 1485.⁹³ Palmieri's statement concerning the presentation to the Pope of the treatise cannot, therefore, have referred to all ten books as we know them.⁹⁴

As to the dating of the work on the choir of St. Peter's, Dehio states in his historical reconstruction that the work on the choir shown on Bramante's drawing was stopped in 1452. However, the structure shown on this drawing is obviously the same which, according to the accounts, was carried out by Beltramo da Varese between 1452 and 1454.⁹⁵ It was this choir, presumably, which Manetti describes.⁹⁶ The fact that the choir shown on this drawing was obviously in the late Gothic tradition suggests that it was the one on which Beltramo worked. In the fifteenth century the Gothic tradition was still alive in Italy and especially in Lombardy under the influence of the Cathedral of Milan, which was in the course of completion at this time. Beltramo's name implies that North Italian influence was at hand. Even if he had acted only as an entrepreneur, we may assume that the unknown architect who worked with him came from the same region.

It is obvious that Beltramo's choir had no connection whatever with Alberti. None of the simple and strict proportions typical of all Alberti's buildings are present, either in Manetti's description or in Bramante's plan.⁹⁷

90. Mancini, *op.cit.*, pp. 90f.

91. *ibid.*, p. 255. 92. *ibid.*, p. 278.

93. Hoffmann (*Studien zu Leon Battista Albertis zehn Büchern "De re aedificatoria"*, Frankenberg i. S., 1883) and M. Theuer (*Leon Battista Alberti, Zehn Bücher über die Baukunst*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1912, pp. xxxiif.) have both quite convincingly placed the writing of Alberti's treatise in his later years, while Rudolf Wittkower (*Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 2nd ed., London, 1952, p. 32) claims an earlier date. He states that the whole treatise was written before 1450, but gives no arguments to prove this theory.

94. Gregor Paulsson has pointed out to me that for books of this period the date of publication or dedication was less indicative of the date of the conception of ideas than is the case today. To a greater extent than nowadays publication was something of a final codification of thoughts and ideas which might have evolved in the course of several years of work and discussion. Thus it is quite possible that Nicholas V may have been familiar with Alberti's ideas long before the *De re aedificatoria* was written; for Alberti, be it remembered, was evidently first confronted with Roman antiquity as early as the 1430's, when he first came to Rome.

95. Müntz, *op.cit.*, pp. 122ff. Antonio da Firenze, whom Dehio cites as the builder of the choir (*op.cit.*, p. 254) was only paid for work on the pavement (Müntz, *op.cit.*, p. 124), and is therefore out of the question.

96. There are some differences between the measurements given by Manetti for the Basilica and those obtained from Bramante's drawing (Geymüller, *Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe*, BL.9), which shows the choir begun under Nicholas V behind

the apse of the old Basilica of Constantine, and which in the days of Bramante was still standing in an unfinished state. According to Manetti, the nave of the Basilica was to be 160 ells long and 120 wide. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 935: "In hoc longo amplo Templi spatio, quod usque ad primam Crucem magnam CLX. in longitudine, in latitudine vero CXX. cubitorum extendebatur, . . ." The transept was 185 ells long and 40 wide. *Ibid.*, col. 936: "Septem enim Cruces inter se invicem involutas fornicatasque in longo CLXXXV. cubitorum spatio, (tantum enim per longitudinem protendebantur) pulcherrime speciosissimeque reddebant, quarum intermedia ceterarum maxima in quadraginta; sex vero aliae in vigintiquatuor cubitos pariter porrigebantur." The choir was to be 75 ells long and 40 wide. *Ibid.*: "Juxta commemoratam Crucem a parte superiori ingens Cappella in latitudinem XL. circiter, in longitudinem vero LXXV. cubitorum protendebatur." From this it is clear that Manetti is in error when, later in his text, he states (*ibid.*, col. 937) that the transept was to be 180 ells long; the sum of the seven bays would have been 184 ells.

On the drawing of Bramante the transept and choir are respectively 200 and 80 ells in length, while both are 44 ells wide. The difference between these two sets of measurements involves only slight changes in the proportions of the church. It cannot be said that either plan is more advanced in the Renaissance or incorporates any real improvement. Neither seems to have been planned as a substitute for the other. We may conclude that the difference in measurements did not originate in two different plans.

97. Cf. Wittkower, *op.cit.*, pp. 97ff. According to Dehio (*op.cit.*, p. 249) the church described by Manetti was more

The accounts prove that Palmieri erred in stating that work on the choir was interrupted in 1452. Hence we must make a new reconstruction of historical events. The year 1452 was not the important turning point in the Pope's building activity which Dehio claimed. Alberti was in Rome long before the project was conceived, and might have exercised some influence at an earlier date than Dehio thought possible. The original conception of the whole building program, presumably including the Borgo Leonino and the Vatican, may be placed in 1450, and the work on the new choir was carried on between 1452 and 1454. The accounts cite no payments for the choir after 1454. Whether this signifies that the work was interrupted, or whether there is simply a gap in the records, is not known.

From this reconstruction we can see that it might have been possible that Alberti participated as early as 1450 in the development of plans for the Borgo, while work on the choir of the Basilica, which evidently was not conceived by him, could have been interrupted in 1454 as a result of his influence or advice. This late date would at least explain why no new plan for the choir was conceived by Alberti,⁹⁸ for the Pope died in the following year and his successor, Callixtus III (1455-1458), put an end to all the building activity then in progress.⁹⁹ If this was the actual sequence of events, however, it would be difficult to explain why Alberti did not succeed in intervening at an earlier stage, in view of the fact that he had been in Rome for some time before Nicholas V began his building activity.

Our next step in this reconstruction is to consider Bernardo Rossellino's connection with the project. Once more, Manetti is our only source of information; if his statements on Rossellino's participation in the project are correct, they certainly would be an indication that Alberti might well have participated to some extent at least in the formulation of the plans. For in the early 1450's Rossellino was not an independent architect; he was active only as a sculptor of architectural decoration and as an executor of Alberti's plans.¹⁰⁰ It is true that later, in the 1460's, he was Pius II's town architect for Pienza; but even in this project he was still very dependent on Alberti.

In those days it was not uncommon for one man to serve as chief architect for all the building activity of a city, at least in the sense that he supervised the work and the execution of plans.¹⁰¹ Thus the appointment of Rossellino as the Pope's chief architect would not have been unusual. He would then have been responsible for the execution of all the plans, as Manetti explicitly states.¹⁰² If, as we believe, the plan was conceived in 1450, the appointment may very well have been made several years later, for Rossellino is not the only architect cited in the accounts of this Pontificate.¹⁰³ The appointment may have been made shortly before the death of the Pope and the consequent termination of all his magnificent projects.

Renaissance in character than the one on Bramante's drawing which, he believed, belonged to an earlier stage in the building activity of Nicholas V.

98. As we have seen, Manetti describes a choir which had in its conception no connection with Alberti's theories. If Alberti had conceived a new plan for this choir in the year before the Pope's death, it might reasonably be expected that Manetti would have mentioned it. We have no reason to believe, however, that Alberti ever made a new plan for this choir.

99. cf. Müntz, *op.cit.*, pp. 190ff.

100. In the 1450's he was paid for decorative work, door frames, and pavements in S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome. Müntz, *op.cit.*, p. 142. Earlier he had made the whole façade of the Misericordia in Arezzo. The fact that he carried out Alberti's designs for the Palazzo Rucellai in Florence in the second half of the 1440's is typical of his architectural activity. Cf. Geymüller, "Alberti Nachtrag," p. 7.

101. Braunfels, *op.cit.*, pp. 233ff.

102. See note 78 above.

103. We know that Rossellino was active in the Vatican Palace as an *ingegnere di palazzo* as early as 1451. He received a salary of fifteen ducats and ten bolognini a month, which was considerably more than was paid to Antonio da

Firenze, who was also an *ingegnere di palazzo*. Müntz, *op.cit.*, pp. 80f. He was also paid for work on S. Stefano Rotondo and on the city wall. *Ibid.*, p. 81 n. 2.

Obviously Rossellino was not the only architect employed by the Pope; he was not even the chief architect. The fact that Antonio da Firenze's name appears in the accounts far more often than Rossellino's is significant; he was, apparently, one of the most important men in the service of the Pope. Antonio da Firenze appears in the documents from 1447 to 1454. Müntz, *op.cit.*, *passim*. The possibility still remains that Rossellino was appointed chief architect, or that the Pope intended to appoint him, but that his death put an end to this plan, with the result that Rossellino never functioned as chief.

The fact that Alberti's name does not appear in the Papal accounts does not speak against him as architect of the project. Alberti never occupied himself with the actual construction of the buildings for which he made plans; and the accounts only refer to persons charged with purchasing materials and paying workmen, and to the executors of plans. The real architect was customarily paid in some other manner, either privately or with some benefice. Thus, the accounts never show any payment for formulating plans.

Our reconstruction of events has shown that there are several points for and against Alberti as the architect of the plan. As has been noted, Dehio's arguments for Alberti are presented in a comparative analysis of the project and of Alberti's theories, as set forth in his *De re aedificatoria*. Our final step in evaluating Dehio's attribution is to consider the validity of this analysis.

Dehio first points to the special concern for the rational which was typical of the Renaissance, both in the case of a single building and of a whole town plan.¹⁰⁴ This is expressed by Alberti at the beginning of *De re aedificatoria* in a principal rule which sets forth three qualities that ought to characterize all types of buildings, namely, *firmitas*, *salubritas* and *amoenitas*.¹⁰⁵

We have already discussed the rational qualities of our project, obtained by the three straight streets leading to three distinct terminal points, and by the long continuous porticoes with a uniform disposition of dwellings and premises. All of this was undoubtedly clearly Renaissance in character.

Dehio exaggerates, however, when he states that Alberti's urbanistic principles would also have been most satisfactorily realized, given the topographical disposition of the Borgo Leonino.¹⁰⁶ Alberti's demand for a healthful location of a town, set forth in *De re aedificatoria*, corresponded rather badly with the low-lying Borgo, which had a well-deserved reputation as an unhealthy area. When the Tiber flooded, which happened every year, the Borgo was one of the first quarters of the city to be inundated. Nor could the Borgo be considered ideal from a defensible point of view, no matter how strong the surrounding walls were made. The quarter was overlooked to the south by the high hill of the Gianicolo, while to the north, on the other side of the Prati, was Monte Mario.

Furthermore, according to Dehio, the disposition of the Borgo plan corresponded with the city of a ruler as described by Alberti in the fifth book of *De re aedificatoria*. A tyrant having recently acquired his power should have his residence within walls, separated from the rest of the city, and in the center—not, as was the case in the Borgo, on the edge of it.¹⁰⁷ While it is true that the Pope could not be compared with the small Italian tyrants he nevertheless had to defend himself from the citizens of Rome; for he lived in a constant state of war with both the Commune and the nobility. Given these circumstances, his residence should have been in the center of the city surrounded by high walls, according to Alberti.

It even occurs to Dehio that the Borgo may have been Alberti's prototype for the town of a

104. Dehio, *op.cit.*, p. 245: "Einer der wirksamsten Triebe im Bauwesen der italienischen Renaissance, der zum ersten Mal durch unsere Philosophen-Architekten in aller Breite zum Ausdruck kommt, ist der Sinn für das Rationelle. 'Salubritas, firmitas, amoenitas,' sind ihm die drei Hauptbedingungen baulicher Vollkommenheit; zumal die erstere, auf die er an verschiedenen Stellen seines Buches mit besonderem Nachdruck zurückkommt. Ganz ähnlich nennt Manetti als die massgebenden Gesichtspunkte für Nicolaus V.: die Befestigung, die Gesundheit, die Verschönerung seiner Residenz, dazu als Viertes die Beförderung der religiösen Andacht."

105. *De re aedificatoria*, Bk. I, chap. 2: "Nam considerantibus an sit quippiam, quod quibusque harum, quae diximus, partium conferat, tria invenimus minime postponenda, quae quidem & tectis, & parietibus, & reliquis eiusmodi plurimum convenient, ea sunt haec. Ut sint eorum singula ad certum, destinatumque usum commoda, & in primis saluberrima. Ad firmitatem, perpetuitatemque integra, & solida, & ad modum aeterna. Ad gratiam & amoenitatem compta, composita, & omni parte sui (ut ita loquar) redimita."

Dehio claims that these three qualities were specifically Albertian. But they seem so general and natural—typical, in fact, of the whole of the Renaissance. The words even seem to have been part of the vocabulary of the preceding century for describing a town, for an aesthetic approach to town planning was not alien to the late Middle Ages. For example, streets were frequently referred to in the fourteenth century as broad, ample, and straight. Cf. Braunsfels, *op.cit.*, p. 104: "Strassen werden gezogen 'per la bellezza della città.' Häuser werden erbaut oder eingerissen 'per la bellezza della via.' Wiederholt

bemerkt man, dass die Vollendung des Einzelwerks zugleich dem Ansehen und der Schönheit des Ganzen diene, dass die Anlage einer Strasse gereiche 'ad decorem et pulchritudinem totius civitatis.' Der Begriff einer 'strada pulcra, ampla et recta' geht als eine feststehende Formel in das Notarslatein über." Descriptions such as these, which were in current use in the later Middle Ages, were still being used in Manetti's time and are found in his text. An example of such a broad and absolutely straight fourteenth-century street is the main street in the upper part of Massa Marittima.

Manetti's wording occasionally reminds us of formulations in *De re aedificatoria*. But this fact does not necessarily speak in favor of Alberti as the author of the plan. All it shows is that Manetti himself may have been in touch with Alberti, and through discussions with him may have become familiar with Alberti's formulations and theories. If so, how surprising that his knowledge of architectural terms was so inadequate, and his descriptions of buildings so vague.

106. Dehio, *op.cit.*, p. 247: "Es fällt in die Augen, dass Alberti's Programm durch die Situation der Leonina in wünschbarsten Vollständigkeit verwirklicht wird."

107. *De re aedificatoria*, Bk. V, chap. 1. In Bk. V, chap. 4 Alberti describes the fortress of a tyrant as lying outside the city walls, to which it should be connected by two walls, in the shape of a C. The difference between such a fortress and the residence described in Bk. V, chap. 1 is not quite clear. Professor Paulsson has pointed out to me that this could be interpreted as meaning that the location of the residence would correspond with that of the fortress. This is also Dehio's interpretation of Alberti's text.

bishop. What is remarkable about this statement is that Alberti says nothing whatever about such a city. He mentions only the residence or the palace of a bishop. The cathedral was to be in the middle of the city and somewhat apart from the adjacent quarters.¹⁰⁸

We have seen that the historical and topographical qualities of the Borgo corresponded much less to Alberti's urbanistic ideals than Dehio claimed. There remain, however, several details which do seem clearly Albertian in character.

The most apparent feature of the plan, and that which Manetti describes most exhaustively, are the three main streets of the quarter. These have many characteristics in common with streets described by Alberti in *De re aedificatoria*. In a big city, he says, the main streets leading to a cathedral, or palace, or some other important building, should be straight and wide, thus giving the city more dignity.¹⁰⁹ In small towns, on the other hand, streets could be curved and narrow.¹¹⁰ Describing these main streets, Alberti goes on to say that it would be very beautiful and convenient to have porticoes on either side, the houses being in a straight line and of equal height.¹¹¹ He mentions as an example of this the Portico di S. Pietro.

We have already seen that these porticoes cannot be considered as an invention of Alberti, since they appear to have been fairly common in Rome throughout the Middle Ages. However, the very important innovation in the Borgo project is that the porticoes were planned to form continuous arcades along three similar streets. This seems to have been a refinement and a monumentalization of an older, mediaeval, system of street planning. It is in this that the plan for the Borgo differs from its mediaeval predecessors. It was a rationalization typical of the Renaissance, and as such it could easily have been developed by a man like Alberti.

Alberti also recommends that different types of merchants and craftsmen should be located in different streets.¹¹² As we have seen, this was to have been the case in the replanned Borgo. But this was not a Renaissance innovation; merchants and craftsmen had had their special streets throughout the Middle Ages.¹¹³

We have interpreted the text as meaning that the three main streets were to enter the piazza in front of the Basilica under archways. If this is correct, then this feature seems very Albertian indeed. Alberti describes at length the proportions of the buildings surrounding an ideal piazza which, like the streets, was also to be porticoed. Since we know so little of the features of the piazzas Manetti describes, we are not in a position to judge whether or not they would have corresponded with Alberti's specifications.

According to Alberti, there should be a square in front of the cathedral of the town.¹¹⁴ In this respect, the plan obviously corresponds with Alberti's recommendations. But it must be remembered that the Platea S. Petri had been in existence for a long while; the plan for the Borgo was merely a proposal to modernize it.

In this context it is worth noting that the proportions of the great tower of Nicholas V, which Manetti describes in some detail, do not correspond with Alberti's proportions for such a tower. The great tower was planned to have a height of 100 ells, and a diameter of 30.¹¹⁵ Alberti's proportions for a round tower are 4:1.¹¹⁶

An analysis of the characteristics of the plans for the Palace and the new church is not within the scope of this paper. It would bear out, however, what has already been said here about Alberti's authorship of the plan for the Borgo and of the whole vast project. In the plans for the Palace and the church certain additional features emerge which may strengthen the theory of Alberti's authorship, such as the mausoleum of the Popes, which was to be an edifice separate from the Basilica, and

108. *ibid.*, Bk. v, chaps. 6-7.

109. *ibid.*, Bk. iv, chap. 5.

110. *ibid.*

111. *ibid.*, Bk. vii, chap. 6.

112. *ibid.*, Bk. vii, chap. 1.

113. *ibid.*, Bk. vii, chap. 6.

114. *ibid.*

115. Muratori, *op.cit.*, col. 932.

116. *De re aedificatoria*, Bk. viii, chap. 5.

the theater in the Vatican garden.¹¹⁷ These seem indeed to have been influenced by the author of *De re aedificatoria*.¹¹⁸

The principal purpose of this study has been to attempt a more detailed and profound analysis of the project for the Borgo than has been made thus far. Dehio, in his paper, classifies the repair of the station churches and of the city walls, and the rebuilding of the Basilica, as typically mediaeval and therefore without interest for the purposes of his analysis. On the other hand, according to Dehio, the replanning of the Borgo on a large scale and the construction of a new Pontifical palace were completely in the spirit of the Renaissance. We believe, however, that the break between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was far less distinct and abrupt than Dehio claimed seventy years ago. Consequently, in our analysis of the plan for the Borgo, its Renaissance features—a new monumentality achieved by axiality, conformity, symmetry of the layout, and a clearer disposition of the premises—are demonstrated with some variations and perhaps less emphatically than in Dehio's article. Until a few years ago, certain features of the project—specifically, the three streets with their porticoes and *tabernae*—had always been considered as typically Renaissance. Recent research in the history of urbanism has enabled us to distinguish these features as a continuation and a development of a mediaeval urbanistic tradition which had had its origins in ancient Rome. This tradition was brought to full clarity and perfection in the project for the Borgo in a way which was characteristic of the Renaissance.

As to the question of attribution, this paper does not go beyond Dehio. We lack the documentary evidence with which to make a definitive attribution; therefore Alberti's connection with the Borgo project remains to a great extent a matter for conjecture. What our considerations have shown is that there are certain features of the project which clearly speak for Alberti's authorship, while others are obviously a product of mediaeval tradition or even contrary to Alberti's theories. Hence, it would be positively incorrect to attribute the whole of the project to him, and Dehio himself is rather careful in this respect. The result of his analysis is merely that the plan as a whole, as well as in all its details, is a manifestation of Alberti's urbanistic principles, and that, therefore, it must have been conceived under his direct and intimate influence. According to Dehio, Alberti somehow certainly directed the planning, but he does not decide whether Alberti really drew the plans himself or left it to someone else to put his ideas into practice.¹¹⁹ We must emphasize that Alberti cannot be considered simply as the architect of the plan in the modern sense of the term and that, therefore, the question of his contribution must be treated very carefully.

The fact that in this project a great many mediaeval features were combined with characteristics of Renaissance urbanism does not by any means exclude the possibility that Alberti was in some way connected with the conception of the plan. For although Alberti's conception of urbanism may have differed radically from that of previous centuries on many points, the fact remains that to a large extent his ideas were essentially a rationalization of mediaeval town planning principles—especially to the extent that they represented an inheritance from ancient Roman civilization.¹²⁰

We have already seen that even though *De re aedificatoria* was not completed in its present form until Alberti's later years, he may nonetheless have had a good deal of influence on architecture in

117. Muratori, *op.cit.*, cols. 933 and 936.

118. *De re aedificatoria*, Bk. VIII, chaps. 1, 2, and 3.

119. Dehio, *op.cit.*, p. 250. Dehio states that "... das Project Nicolaus' V. nicht anders als unter starkem und unmittelbarem, den Geist des Ganzen wie die Formation des Einzelnen Stück um Stück beherrschenden Einfluss der Alberti'schen Theorien entstanden sein kann. Unentschieden bleibt aber noch dieses: ob Alberti selbst die Pläne in der Gestalt, wie sie zur Ausführung bestimmt waren, entworfen und detailliert hat, —oder ob wir die constatierte Mitwirkung möglicherweise nur so zu denken haben, dass es einem Andern überlassen wurde, seine Lehren in's Praktische zu übersetzen."

120. According to A. W. Eden ("Studies in Urban Theory.

The *De re aedificatoria* of Leon Battista Alberti," *The Town Planning Review*, XIX, 1, 1943, pp. 15ff.) the ideal town of Alberti, the prototype for the communities that he describes in his treatise, was Florence. This fact was due to the decisive impression which Florentine civilization had had on him while in Florence with the Papal Curia in the 1430's. The urbanism of the late Middle Ages was highly developed in most Italian towns, but for many reasons it was more highly developed in Florence than in any other place and therefore it is quite possible that there was a certain influence deriving from mediaeval Florence on the development of Renaissance urbanism in Rome at this early stage.

Rome as early as the 1450's. But it must be remembered that his production as an architect was still comparatively small, and that he was better known to his contemporaries as a philosopher and a theoretician, a man of vast and many-faceted knowledge. We must, therefore, take care not to ascribe to him plans for which there is no documentary evidence of his authorship.

Any precise determination of Alberti's role in the planning of the project for the Borgo Leonino must, of course, be mere guesswork. But with reference to what has already been said in favor of Alberti, we may assume that he was one of the sources of Manetti's knowledge of the project, and that in the capacities of both philosopher and architect he was responsible not only for some of the main principles of the plan but also for some of the architectural details. While Nicholas V himself had many reasons for being concerned with the rebuilding of this quarter and probably personally took the initiative in the planning, it is hardly probable that he ever actually gave more than the general directions for the layout. We may, presumably, look upon the project, to the extent that it was a concrete plan, as the result of deliberations involving the Pope, Alberti, and perhaps some other Humanist, and, very likely, at least one architect with practical experience in building. Such teamwork as this would explain the various characteristics of the plan: its monumentality, its Renaissance features, and, finally, the underlying mediaeval tradition found in the disposition of the buildings.

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1. After Leonardo da Vinci. *Battle of the Standard*. Florence, Uffizi



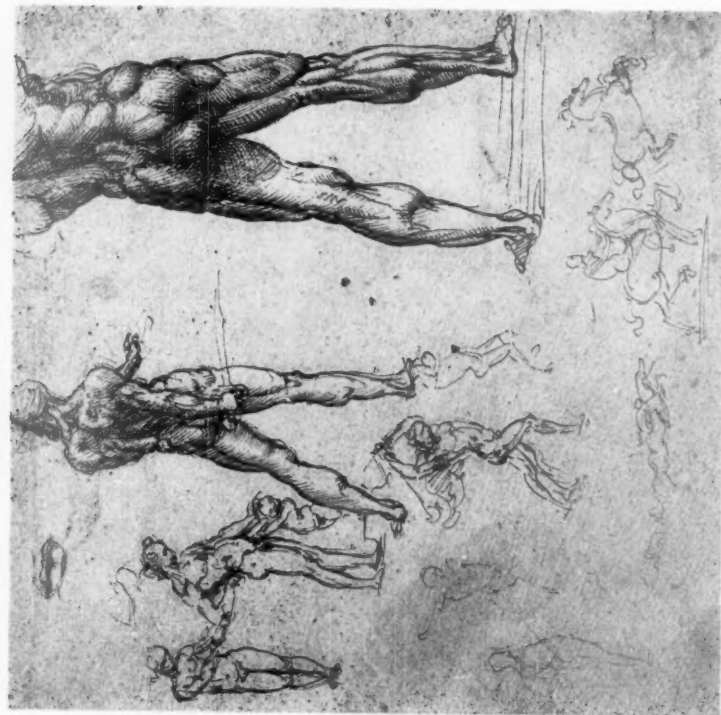
2-3. Leonardo da Vinci. *Heads of Soldiers*. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts



4. Lorenzo Zacchia (after Leonardo da Vinci). *Battle of the Standard*



5. Leonardo da Vinci. Study for *Battle of Anghiari*. Pen and ink. Venice, Academy



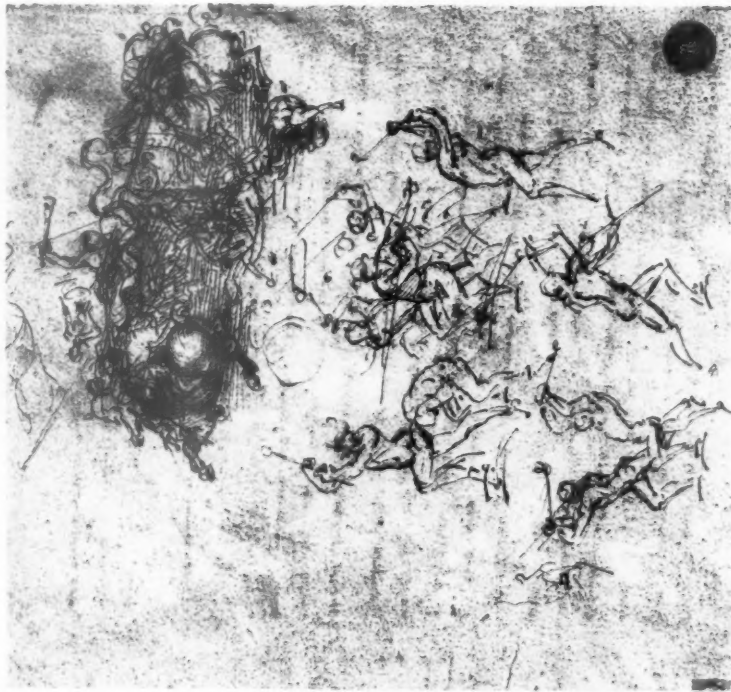
6. Leonardo da Vinci. Studies for *Battle of Anghiari*. Pen and ink. Turin, Royal Library



8. Leonardo da Vinci. Sheet of studies. Red chalk. Windsor, Royal Library



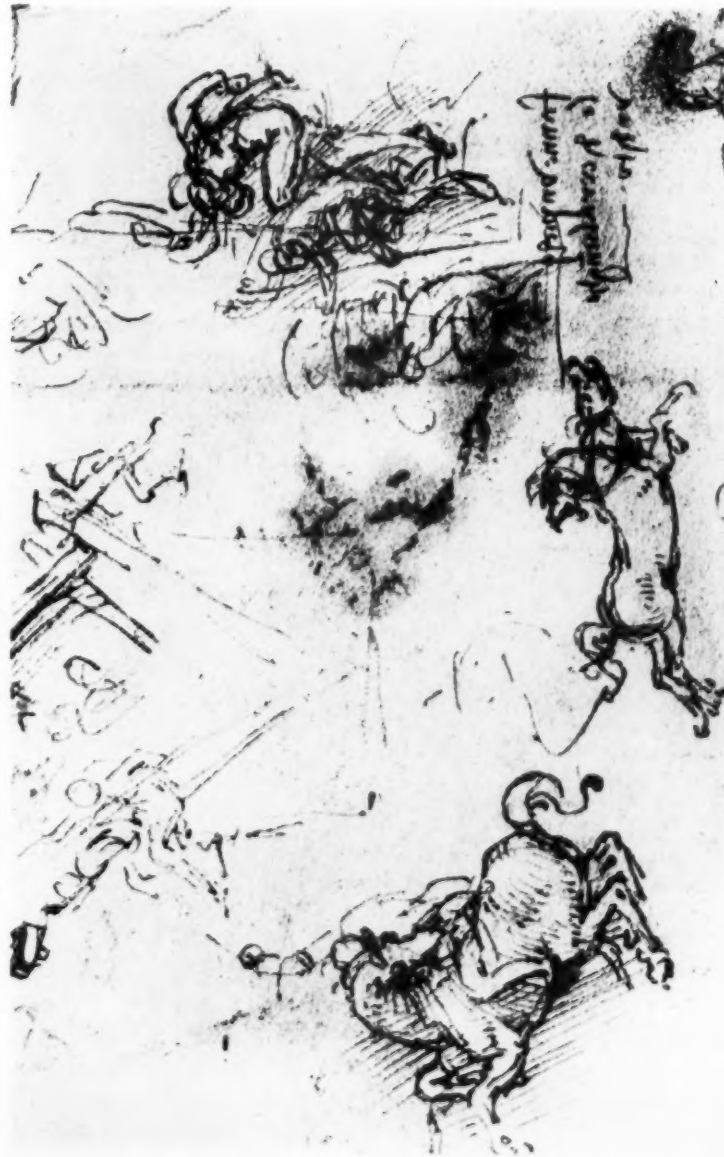
7. Leonardo da Vinci. Studies for *Battle of Anghiari* and anatomical notes. Windsor, Royal Library



9. Leonardo da Vinci. Study for *Battle of Anghiari*. Pen and ink. Venice, Academy

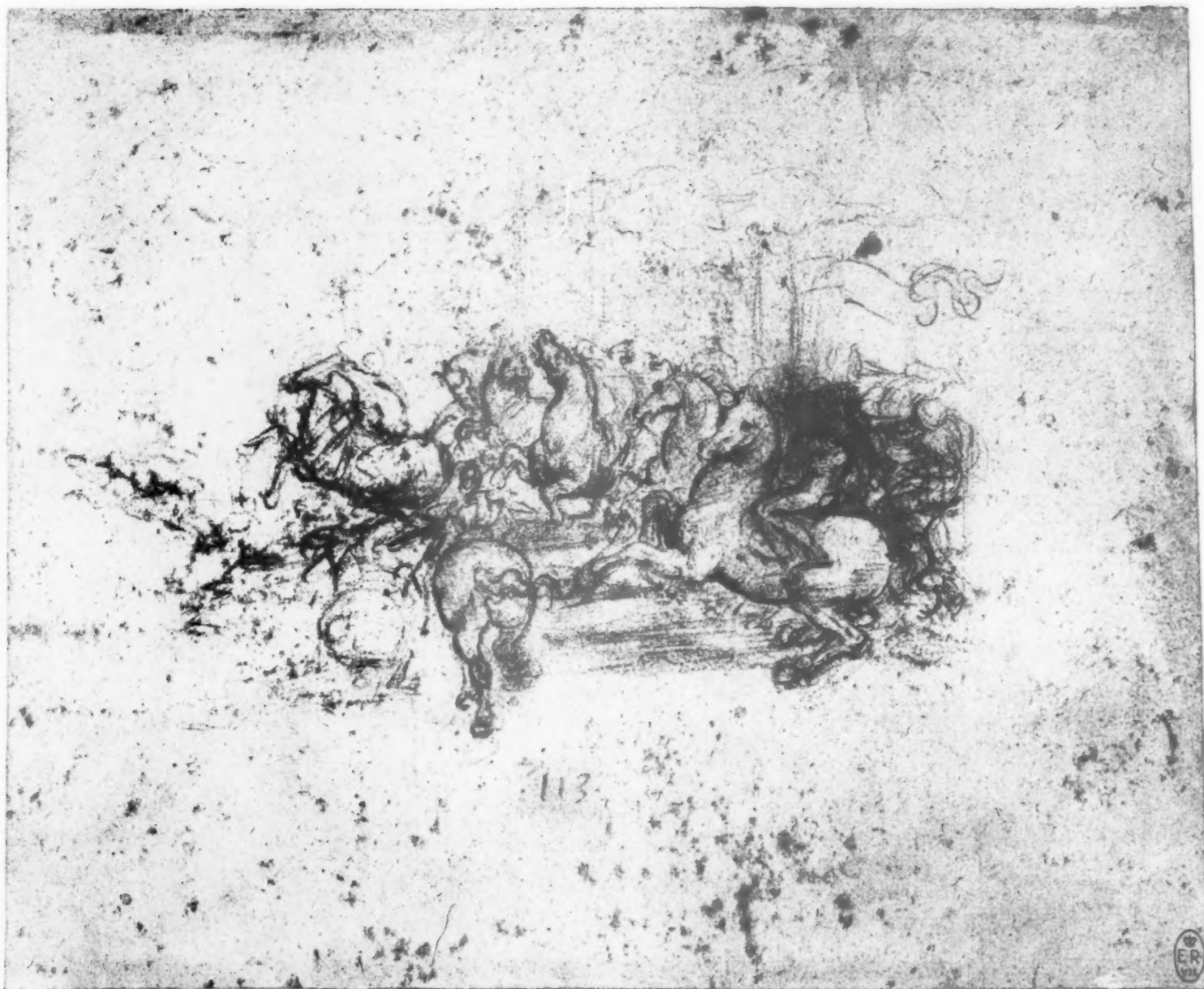


10. Leonardo da Vinci. Studies for *Battle of Anghiari*. Pen and ink. London, British Museum



11-12. Leonardo da Vinci. Studies for *Battle of Anghiari* (detail). Pen and ink. Windsor, Royal Library





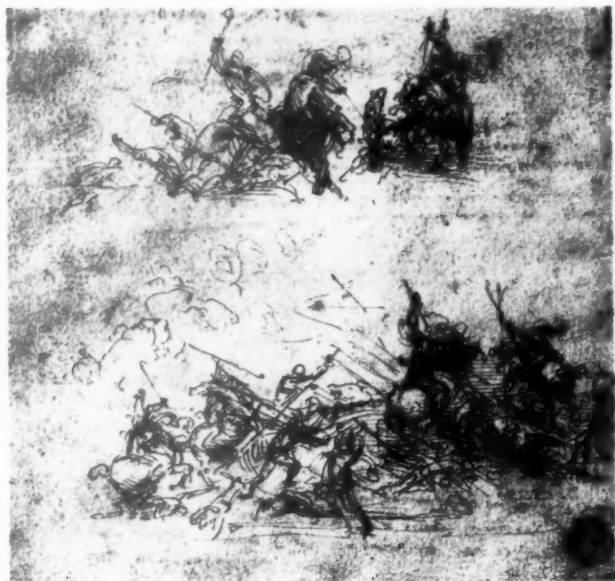
13. Leonardo da Vinci. Study for *Battle of Anghiari*. Black chalk. Windsor, Royal Library



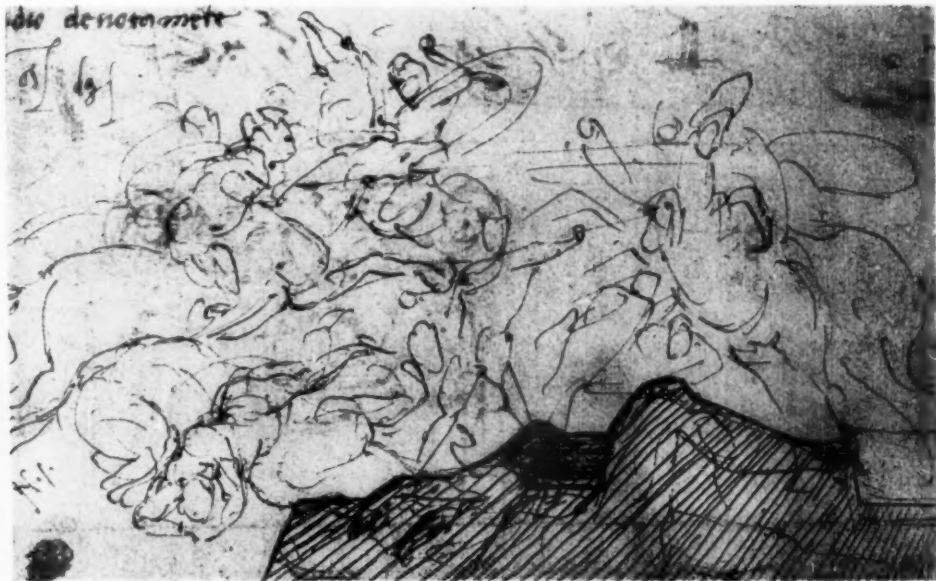
14. Raphael (after Leonardo da Vinci). Sketch copy of *Battle of the Standard* (detail)
Silver point, heightened with white. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



15. Leonardo da Vinci. Detail from *Adoration of the Kings*. Florence, Uffizi



16. Leonardo da Vinci. Studies for *Battle of Anghiari*
Pen and ink, Venice, Academy



17. Michelangelo (? after Leonardo da Vinci). Battle study (detail)
Pen and ink. London, British Museum



18. Conjectural reconstruction of the *Battle of Anghiari* (reconstructed by Cecil Gould and painted by Theodore Hepper)



19. Piero di Cosimo. *Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths*. Panel. London, National Gallery

LEONARDO'S GREAT BATTLE-PIECE A CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION*

CECIL GOULD

THERE can be little doubt that the battle-pieces commissioned of Leonardo da Vinci and of Michelangelo in the first decade of the sixteenth century would have constituted, had either been completed, the culmination of Florentine painting, and, as such, would have ranked among the two or three supreme masterpieces of painting in any age. The commission itself—the decoration of the Council Hall of the new Florentine Republic—was the most important within the power of the state to give, and in the case of Leonardo, who alone is the subject of this essay and who was given the contract for one half of the work somewhat before Michelangelo embarked on the other, we have Vasari's word that contemporary opinion considered the man well matched with the opportunity. This is to say, the Florentines felt that the return of Leonardo in 1500 to his native city after nearly twenty years' absence at Milan should not be allowed to pass without his giving some important manifestation of those powers which were now generally recognized, and, conversely, that the decoration of the Council Chamber—which had been completed, structurally, in 1497, and whose walls were still bare—was of such moment that no other artist then available should be entrusted with it.

We have sufficient indications to show that the battle-piece was in fact the greatest artistic commission entrusted to Leonardo in the whole of his career and that he himself regarded it as such. He had, indeed, already undertaken two works of the first magnitude—the colossal equestrian statue for the tomb of Francesco Sforza, and the painting of the *Last Supper*. But the society of Milan, where both these works were executed, though possibly hostile on principle, in certain sections, to a Florentine visitor, was far less informed in the arts than were the Florentines, and therefore less challenging, while at no time during his residence at Milan was Leonardo brought into direct competition with another artist in any way approaching his stature, least of all with one so formidable as Michelangelo. It follows from this that Leonardo's failure, for technical reasons, to complete the painting, together with the subsequent destruction both of his cartoon and of the relatively small portion which he carried out was, for the history of painting, a disaster comparable in magnitude with the blowing up of the Parthenon in 1687 or the Alcázar fire of 1734.

On Leonardo himself the blow seems to have had the decisive effect that its significance would have led one to expect. Coupled with the failure, precisely coeval, of his plan for diverting the course of the river Arno, he seems to have regarded it as the turning-point in his life and even as marking the end of his work in a practical sphere. His remaining years—little more than a decade—were given more and more to academic research, chiefly in science; and although there were still

* The basis of the present essay was a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Royal Academy in London in 1952 in connection with the quinqucentenary exhibition of Leonardo's works. The subject was allotted to me at the suggestion of Sir Kenneth Clark, and to him and to Professor Gombrich I owe a substantial debt for their help and encouragement.

The footnotes have been restricted in order to make for easier reading. In addition to the detailed references given in them the following works, on which I have myself drawn, should be mentioned: For the relation of the battle-piece to Leonardo's work as a whole Sir Kenneth Clark's monograph (1939 and 1952). For the text of Leonardo's notes and related documents J. P. Richter's *Literary Works of Leonardo*

da Vinci (1883 and 1939). For reproductions of Leonardo's drawings Sir Kenneth Clark's catalogue of the Windsor drawings (1935) and A. E. Popham's book (1946) on the drawings in general. For contemporary external documentation Beltrami's *Documenti e Memorie riguardanti la Vita e le Opere di Leonardo da Vinci* (1919) and for the Uffizi copy of the Battle of the Standard an article by K. F. Suter in the *Burlington Magazine*, LV (1929). Any references not obtainable from one or other of these works will be found in Verga's *Bibliografia Vinciana* (1931). The drawings from the Royal Library at Windsor were reproduced by gracious permission of H. M. The Queen.

projects of different kinds—a monument to Marshal Trivulzio, an attempt on the age-old problem of draining the Pontine Marshes or a scheme of canalization for the river Loire—it is open to doubt if Leonardo himself was ever seriously interested in whether they were carried out.

There is, therefore, every justification for a close scrutiny of the Battle project and of the surviving evidence for its appearance. The main facts are relatively well known and need only be summarized here. The painting was to cover just under half of the width of the longer of the two side walls in the Council Chamber which had been built onto the back of the Palazzo Vecchio.¹ All early authorities agree that it was to be of enormous size—between three and four times the area of the Last Supper. The corresponding space on the other side of the central feature of the same wall was given to Michelangelo for a complementary battle-piece—of soldiers surprised, while bathing, by the enemy. Leonardo's subject was the Battle of Anghiari, a cavalry engagement which had been fought, in 1440, round a bridge over a stream in the Apennines (apparently the upper reaches of the Tiber), at which the Florentine and Papal forces (under the command of the Patriarch of Aquileia) had overcome the Milanese. Leonardo had started work on the cartoon by the spring of 1504, had started painting on the wall by April 1505 and had probably abandoned it forever by the end of that year. The cause was the failure of the process devised by Leonardo to enable him to paint on the wall at his leisure—which in the ordinary fresco method was not possible. The results of the preliminary tests, evidently on a small scale, had been satisfactory, but it was found on the spot that the colors at the top, being too far from the fire which had been lit on the floor to dry them, tended to run. It is very possible that the damage might not have appeared serious, or at least not fatal, to any ordinary observer. Certainly the portion executed by Leonardo was still plainly visible some fifty years later, when it was wilfully destroyed to make way for frescoes by Vasari. But Leonardo was as incapable of tolerating his own second-best as he was that of other people, and made no attempt to continue with the work after it had become plain that his calculations had miscarried.

Of the surviving documents connected with the *Battle of Anghiari* the most important—apart from the records of payment, which enable us to trace the chronology of progress on the work—is a longish contemporary description, evidently the specification given to Leonardo before beginning work.² It relates, in rather flowery terms, the events of the battle from the Florentine point of view.

1. For the details of the building of the hall and of the commissioning of the mural paintings the essential work is an article by J. Wilde in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VII (1944). My own debt to Dr. Wilde's work is very great since without his calculation of the proportions of Leonardo's painting no attempt at a reconstruction would have been convincing. For this reason it was unfortunate that a brilliant essay in this vein by Günther Neufeld (*ART BULLETIN*, XXXI, 1949) was written before the author had access to Wilde's material. The reasons for the chief differences between Neufeld's results and my own—the relevance or otherwise of Michelangelo's sketch and the inclusion of another group between those on the left and in the center—are put forward later in the present essay.

2. It reads as follows: "Begin with the address of Niccolò Piccinino to the soldiers and the banished Florentines among whom are Messer Rinaldo degli Albizzi and other Florentines. Then let it be shown how he first mounted on horseback in armour; and the whole army came after him—forty squadrons of cavalry, and two thousand foot soldiers went with him. Very early in the morning the Patriarch went up a hill to reconnoitre the country, that is the hills, fields and the valley watered by a river; and from thence he beheld Niccolò Piccinino coming from Borgo San Sepolcro with his people, and with a great dust; and perceiving them he returned to the camp of his own people and addressed them. Having spoken he prayed to God with clasped hands, when there appeared a cloud in which St. Peter appeared and spoke to the Patriarch. Five hundred cavalry were sent forward by the Patriarch to hinder or check the rush of the enemy. In the foremost troop Fran-

cesco, the son of Niccolò Piccinino, was the first to attack the bridge which was held by the Patriarch and the Florentines. Beyond the bridge to his left he sent forward some infantry to engage ours, who drove them back, among whom was their captain Michelotto whose lot it was to be that day at the head of the army. Here, at this bridge, there is a severe struggle; our men conquer and the enemy is repulsed. Here Guido and Astorre, his brother, the Lord of Faenza with a great number of men, re-formed and renewed the fight, and rushed upon the Florentines with such force that they recovered the bridge and pushed forward as far as the tents. But Simonetto advanced with 600 horse, and fell upon the enemy and drove them back once more from the place and recaptured the bridge; and behind him came more men with 2,000 horse soldiers. And thus for a long time they fought with varying fortune. But then the Patriarch, in order to divert the enemy, sent forward Niccolò da Pisa and Napoleone Orsino, a beardless lad, followed by a great multitude of men, and then was done another great feat of arms. At the same time Niccolò Piccinino urged forward the remnant of his men, who once more made ours give way; and if it had not been that the Patriarch set himself at their head and, by his words and deeds controlled the captains, our soldiers would have taken to flight. The Patriarch had some artillery placed on the hill and with these he dispersed the enemy's infantry; and the disorder was so complete that Niccolò began to call back his son and all his men, and they took to flight towards Borgo. And then began a great slaughter of men; none escaped but the foremost of those who had fled or who hid themselves. The battle continued until sunset, when the Patriarch gave his mind to recalling his men and

One or two details in it will concern us later, but the document as a whole is of little value in attempting to visualize Leonardo's painting, since it covers the events of a whole day and is too episodic to be susceptible, in its entirety, to illustration in any one picture. More important are such of the numerous surviving autograph drawings as have been identified as connected with the *Battle*. None of these is a sketch for the whole composition. There are sheets of isolated studies for different features, composition sketches for various whole sections and detailed drawings for single heads and for single figures. Some of these drawings clearly represent early ideas which Leonardo would have modified or changed later, others appear to date from a relatively late stage in the evolution.

If, at this point, an attempt were made to estimate the possibility of reconstructing the lost design as a whole it would soon be clear that the element of uncertainty was overwhelming. We can check this assertion by referring to another of Leonardo's major works since drawings of comparable scope survive for the Last Supper, notably two partial composition sketches (obviously dating from a relatively early stage)³ and some detailed studies for single figures.⁴ Any attempt at reconstruction (assuming that the Last Supper had been destroyed in the sixteenth century) based solely on this material would soon show its inadequacy. But if, in addition, we assume the existence of a copy of one whole section of the finished work the situation is radically changed. It might well be possible to adapt the early composition sketches to the model thus provided and by incorporating the detailed studies arrive ultimately at something approaching the general layout of the work as we know it.

In the case of the battle-piece such evidence is in fact to hand. There is in existence a contemporary painted copy and also a contemporary engraving of the portion which Leonardo actually painted. With such data available the problem can be put in the form of three main questions: 1) Can we establish the relation of the executed portion to the whole project, 2) what was the constitution of the remainder, 3) are the existing sketches for it sufficiently comprehensive and sufficiently developed to admit, as it were, of being poured into the mould formed by the copies of the executed fragment and emerging as a reconstruction of the whole?

For the first of these questions the evidence can be shown to give a fairly precise answer. For the second the answer suggested here, though by no means unassailable, yet seems to the present writer more probable than any other. For the third—the actual appearance of those parts which got no further than a cartoon or *modello*—the element of conjecture is clearly so great that no objective solution can ever be found. Any attempt at a full-scale reconstruction of the painting of the cartoon would be unthinkable. Practically all the minor details are unknown, and no living artist can begin to emulate Leonardo's skill as painter. Nevertheless a small-scale drawing of a very large painting could not, by its nature, ever attempt to cover details but it might at the same time succeed, in certain circumstances, in recapturing and presenting a general impression of the whole. With so relatively modest an aim, therefore, as the reconstruction of Leonardo's small-scale preliminary *modello* (and with the preliminary reservation—to such purists as hold that major works of the very great are sacrosanct—that the element of conjecture, already incorporated in the title of this essay, is fully acknowledged) let us examine the visual and documentary evidence and try to piece together the bits of the jig-saw puzzle as we go along.⁵

burying the dead, and afterwards a trophy was erected."

It is amusing to contrast this epic with the description of the battle given by Machiavelli in his history of Florence. He says that the engagement lasted "from four in the afternoon to eight in the evening," but that "only one man was slain, and even he perished not from wounds, or any blow dealt him in combat, but from being trampled on after falling from his horse. With such safety did men then fight; for all being mounted on horseback, and sheathed in mail, and assured against death should they surrender, there was no reason why they should die, their armour protecting them while they fought, and surrender saving them when they could fight no longer."

Oddly enough, it has been suggested that Machiavelli, who was certainly sponsoring the decoration of the Hall, was also the author of the specification. If that were the case the discrepancy between it and his published account might be attributed to a desire to assist the passing of a law (with which he was then occupied) constituting the militia, by means of a stirring military picture.

3. Windsor, No. 12,542 and Venice (Popham, *op.cit.*, No. 162).

4. Windsor, Nos. 12,543, -46, -47, -48, -51, -52 and Albertina, Vienna (Popham, *op.cit.*, No. 164).

5. It must be taken for granted that a small-scale *modello* for the whole composition existed. No artist, let alone a great

The starting point should naturally be the two copies, already mentioned, of the executed portion, which has become famous under the title *Battle for the Standard*. The painted copy (Fig. 1) belongs to the Uffizi; the engraving (Fig. 4) is dated 1558 and signed Lorenzo Zacchia. The composition is so closely knit that it is not at first easy to understand the action. What seems to be happening is that the soldier on the left has been carrying the standard over his right shoulder and it has then been seized by the soldier on the right with his left hand. The soldier on the left has turned in his saddle so as to exert more weight in pulling the standard away and recapturing it. Meanwhile the soldier second from the left who grasps the pole of the standard with his left hand is hacking at the hand of the one on the right to make him relax his hold. The horses of these two have interlocked their forelegs and the one on the left is biting the one on the right. Finally the cavalryman second from the right is assisting his comrade on the extreme right by counter attacking his attacker. Under the belly of the horse on the right one foot soldier is poniarding another. The flag part of the standard appears towards the right in some of the preparatory drawings but not here. It is sometimes stated that it had already been cut off but it is more likely that it would have appeared farther to the right. From the point of view of design, the peculiarity of this group lies chiefly in the fact that the horses of the opposed fighters are not meeting head on, as would be normal, but are facing in the same direction. This may well be unique in battle pictures, and Leonardo, as we shall see, did not evolve it immediately. The reason for it is fairly obvious. One of Leonardo's aims in composing the central group was evidently to secure as tightly welded a unit as possible. A pair of horses colliding head on make up (when seen from the side) a roughly triangular pattern at the base of which (between the two pairs of hind legs) a good deal of space is wasted. But if the horses face the same way their forms interlock naturally. What seems to have been the fundamental principle of the design of this group—the opposed forces rocking against each other without a vertical center—could have been preserved with either arrangement. But the use of interlocking forms instead of a simple collision produces a further sense of movement. One is reminded of a pair of coiled springs, pivoted against each other and therefore liable to fall back sideways, but also liable to expand upwards. The resulting tension in this group provides one of the most exhilarating experiences in the whole of art.

We know from a statement by Soderini, the head of the Republic, to the effect that Leonardo had made only a small beginning of a great undertaking, that this group can have constituted no more than a relatively small portion of the whole design and it is usually assumed that it was the center. As it stands, this need not have been the case but we shall see later on that there are strong indications that it really was. Now it has been calculated that this group would have taken up about two-sevenths of the width of the space at Leonardo's disposal and perhaps rather more than half the height,⁶ and the universal practice in wall-painting in the Renaissance was to paint the upper parts first—since if the lower parts were painted first there would have been a risk of damaging them when painting higher up. If, therefore, this represents about half the height of the space and it was all that Leonardo executed it can hardly have been the lower half. The fact of the horse's legs breaking off at the bottom of the Uffizi picture confirms this. Before proceeding any further it may be as well at this stage to see if there is sufficient evidence for establishing which part of the picture was occupied by which of the two opposing armies. This question seems one of the easier ones to solve.

one, would begin painting a large and important picture unless the layout of the whole were already precisely worked out. But it has in fact been questioned whether Leonardo ever completed his full-scale cartoon. Vasari merely says that he started a cartoon and Dr. Neufeld, in the article already mentioned, points out acutely that a clause in Leonardo's contract of 1504 specifies that if the cartoon were not ready within the appointed time the authorities would still be satisfied if Leonardo, by then, had started to paint merely from the portion which was finished. As Dr. Neufeld says it would be unlike Leonardo voluntarily to do more than was required of him. Against this

is the account given by a pre-Vasarian writer, the *Anonimo Magliabecchiano*, who says that the part of the cartoon corresponding with the part which Leonardo carried out in painting remained, like the painting, in the Palazzo Vecchio, but that "the greater part" of the cartoon was left in charge of the authorities of S. Maria Nuova when Leonardo went to France. This is a perfectly clear statement and its early date renders it relatively authoritative. Nevertheless it does not seem possible to settle the point finally.

6. See Wilde, *op.cit.*

It so happens, in the first place, that we have Leonardo's own detailed drawings (now at Budapest) for the heads of the two principal warriors in the standard group and they would seem to give a first clue in this matter. In all war pictures painted for political purposes it has been customary to depict the friendly forces in the most heroic light (and often to stress correspondingly the physical repulsiveness of their enemies) and Leonardo, who considered that all figures in a painting would clearly be made to proclaim their role, would certainly have adhered to some such principle in these circumstances. In the present case the snarling warrior on the left of the standard group (Fig. 2) might belong to one side or the other. But the one on the extreme right (Fig. 3) is such a personification of heroism as to seem in the present context only suitable to a Florentine. He may have been Napoleone Orsino, described in the specification as *giovane senza barba*. Not only are the features of the soldier on the right shown as more sympathetic than those of the one on the left: the attitude of the soldier on the left of all, crouched and cramped on his horse, is one expressive of the greatest lack of dignity, suitable to a foe but almost inconceivable in a friend. Furthermore, for all his efforts he has not succeeded in recapturing the pole of the standard from the grasp of his opponent. For these reasons, therefore, we may infer that the Florentine army occupied roughly the right half of the picture.

There is, however, evidence which not only supports this conclusion, but connects with another point affecting the general layout. One of several drawings by Leonardo at Venice (Fig. 5) shows what is clearly a design for the standard group. The man on the left grasping the standard is clearly recognizable from the copies. Notice that the fight for the standard occupies the upper half of the sheet, which is another indication that the painted portion was not in the foreground of the space. On the right of this sketch and in the background there is a bridge with rough indications of cavalry crossing it from the right, and we know from the specification that a bridge was the object of the battle. Whatever, therefore, in the specification might not be shown in the painting it was almost inevitable that this should be.⁷ Now from a military point of view it is unlikely that fighting should be taking place simultaneously on both sides of a strategic bridge. Consequently if there were further figures to the right of the standard group they would have been on the other side of the bridge and would therefore not normally be engaged in combat. It so happens that a drawing at Windsor (Fig. 13) precisely fulfils these conditions. It shows a group of horsemen, mostly facing the left. It is certain that this portion of the design reached the final stage since the horse in the left foreground occurs in Raphael's sketch copy (Fig. 14) clearly differentiated from his impression of the standard group. The bridge in the Venice drawing is in the right background and this horse is shown galloping inwards into the picture space. It therefore looks as though the bridge would have been in the left background of this scene and if we study the drawing carefully we see on the extreme left (hardly visible in a reproduction) indications of horsemen galloping off to the left at right angles to the others. We can therefore deduce that this group must in all probability have been immediately to the right of the standard group.

It is noticeable that the isolated horse in Raphael's sketch is about the same size as those in his impression of the standard group, so that the scale in the group to the right can be assumed to be approximately the same. As it is also of roughly similar layout it would have taken up about as much space as the standard group. But as the latter has been calculated to have covered no more than about two-sevenths of the breadth of the total space it follows that the right-hand group would have taken up about as much again and that in consequence there must have been a third group of comparable size (allowing a little space between the groups) but not more.⁸ As far as the argument goes, so far

7. It is significant that bridges are prominently displayed in two early *cassoni* paintings of the Battle of Anghiari reproduced by Schubring in the *Burlington Magazine*, XXII (pp. 159 & 203). This point is mentioned merely from the point of view of iconography. Artistically both these pictures are far too feeble to have exerted the slightest influence on Leonardo.

8. Neufeld (*op.cit.*, p. 183 n. 32) states that his own conclusions "exactly coincide" with those of Wilde (*op.cit.*) arrived at independently, and in many respects this is evident. Nevertheless a portion of his thesis which he developed at length seems incompatible with Wilde's results which the present writer accepts. This is the "Two-Rider-Group" which

the standard group could have been on the left of the whole picture and this group in the middle. But the design of the latter clearly suits it to be the right portion of a whole composition and as we have seen that the standard group would have been immediately to the left of it the latter must have been in the center of the whole design. What was happening in the left group will occupy us later.

Meanwhile two more inferences may be made. In the first place we know from the specification that the bridge changed hands many times during the battle. But for the purposes of the painting it was obviously desirable to depict a moment when it was in the hands of the Florentines. If, therefore, the last Windsor drawing was for the right of the composition and the standard group in the center, the bridge would then have been in the hands of the army whose vanguard included the two figures on the right of the standard group. And this is a further confirmation that the Florentine army occupied the right half of the painting. Secondly, there is a passage in Leonardo's own description of how to paint a battle (written some years earlier as part of his projected treatise on painting) which deals with the reserves.⁹ Leonardo says "The captain himself, his staff raised, hurries towards these auxiliaries, pointing to the spot where they are most needed." Now if we look again at the Venice drawing (Fig. 5), we see that there is a further figure on the extreme right who has his back to the battle group. He is shown pointing, with his arm raised, and is the only figure not taking part in the action. Can it be that this is meant to be the captain, or in this case even the Patriarch himself, directing the reserves as Leonardo suggests? He is indeed facing in the direction of the reserves as shown in the Windsor drawing and if this is not what he is doing his presence on the sheet is inexplicable. We may note carefully the attitude of this figure, small and hastily drawn as it is—how he stands in *profil perdu*, with his left leg slightly forward, his head raised and turning towards the left so that the line of his jawbone is accentuated. For if we concede as a possibility that this was his function there is an overwhelming temptation to connect him with another famous drawing at Windsor (Fig. 7) of a more finished and definite kind. The pose is almost identical, though Leonardo has clearly not made up his mind yet what to do with the arms. It may be remarked that the small scene on this drawing is clearly and certainly an idea for part of the battle so that in any case it dates from the right period. The note at the side is an analysis of the musculature,¹⁰ and the figure studies, in consequence, have hitherto been assumed to be merely academic. But similar notes exist on horse studies which were apparently intended for the Sforza and Trivulzio monuments and they are no proof of this contention. It may be added, for what it is worth, that the lighting in these figure-studies comes from the right as it is known to have done in the Anghiari cartoon.¹¹

Before discussing the left-hand portion of the composition we may justifiably fill in a few details in the reconstruction of the center and right portion. A further drawing of a skirmish at Venice (Fig. 9) contains in addition a large quantity of infantrymen in combat and they tend to crop up, often in mere scribbles, on a great many of Leonardo's drawings made at this time. There can indeed be no doubt that it was intended to show foot soldiers as well as cavalrymen and in view of the amount of space taken up by the horses and of their size the obvious place for the infantrymen would have been in the foreground. We have deduced that the reserve Florentine cavalrymen seem to have been shown preparing to charge across the bridge (which some of them apparently were al-

the present writer regards as the earliest version of the standard group but which Neufeld sees as an independent group between it and that on the left of all. If Wilde's calculation of the proportions of the frame (which he estimates as ca. 7 m x 17.5 m) and of the relation of the standard group to it is followed, it seems inescapable that there would not have been room for more than one group of the requisite size to the left of the standard group.

9. Richter, *op.cit.*, para. 602.

10. Text in Richter, para. 356.

11. The fact that the figure studies are of a man in the nude while the Uffizi painting and Zacchia's engraving show the

figures clothed is no objection since nudity is the rule in Leonardo's preliminary studies for the Battle. One might, however, have expected the Captain to be mounted, as in Uccello's battle-pieces. It is therefore relevant to point out that some tradition existed for showing a general unmounted, notably Ghiberti's *Saul* in the relief of the *Battle against the Philistines* on the Florentine Baptistery where, incidentally, the figure assumes a pose strikingly similar to that in Leonardo's drawing. In the case of the *Anghiari* a prominent unmounted figure might have seemed preferable in this context to a further mounted one, both to provide contrast and to anchor the swirling curves of the other two groups.

ready doing) to go to the rescue of the standard group. If, as is likely, there had also been reserves of infantry on the farther bank there would hardly have been room for them also to use the bridge and in consequence they would have had to swim or wade across. One of the Anghiari drawings at Windsor (Fig. 11) contains, in the center, towards the bottom, a sketch of three figures which may be brought into this context and interpreted as three infantrymen jumping into the stream. Two other lightly sketched figures, to the left and higher up on the same sheet, are shown seated and looking over their shoulders. They may be more infantrymen, hesitating and watching the cavalry reserves charge by. A further drawing at Windsor (Fig. 12), also certainly in the Anghiari series, shows, at the bottom, what would be two of them scrambling out on the other side. It must be admitted that these three sketches are extremely slight and in such cases there is always a possibility with Leonardo that they were drawn in no specific context—in other words that they were "doodles." But once one has taken into consideration the military and topographical implications of the bridge, and consequently of the stream, these figures seem to fit so perfectly into the context that a connection may well exist. But they clearly represent a very early stage in the process of evolution and in any case would have been developed and perhaps altered later on.

When we come to the reconstruction of the left-hand portion of the composition we seem at first to be on more uncertain ground since we have no evolved composition sketch by Leonardo for this part. But in the end we may be able to reconstruct this side with greater certainty than the right, though the process is longer and more complicated, and involves first of all a more searching analysis of the Venice drawings than has been necessary hitherto. Owing to the fact that this was to be on the fighting side of the stream one would expect a group of horsemen and infantrymen comparable with the standard group in the center.

In the Venice drawing with the bridge (Fig. 5) the design and the content are roughly the same as in the finished group and we may therefore assume that this drawing represents a relatively late stage in the evolution of the design. The warrior on the left is unmistakable, while the group is built up on similar pictorial lines to the final version. The differences are the foot soldier in the middle who was to be replaced by two struggling on the ground, the more loosely knit composition and the added complexity of the foot soldiers on the right trying to tear down the flag. A further drawing at Venice (Fig. 9), more complex still, seems to represent an earlier stage. The cavalryman on the left is still recognizable, but the groups are far apart (though their horses are still facing in the same direction) and even the theme seems different. It hardly looks as though the main event is the attempt to recapture the standard. A standard, indeed, is fluttering from the left across the middle of the group and what may be an alternative position for it, or more probably a second standard, is overhead to the left. But the warrior in the center with his right arm raised seems intent on attacking the soldier shown by his fallen horse in the center foreground who seems to have no connection with the standard. Two different themes are thus shown concurrently. Certain highly eccentric factors in this drawing—such as the fact that this warrior, top center, is facing the opposite direction from his horse—lead one to think that it represented a fleeting intermediary stage between two different conceptions. A drawing in the British Museum (Fig. 10) may give a further clue. Its function is clearly different from that of the last two drawings since it is not primarily a composition sketch but a sheet of separate ideas. This drawing may well have been done concurrently with the last one and as its complement. Some of the sketches on it connect with the later stages and others with what seems to be the earliest of all. The main sketch, top right, shows two horsemen attacking a warrior on the ground between them, which was one of the dual themes of the last drawing. The horse of the cavalryman on the left is biting another horse—presumably belonging to the soldier on the ground. This seems to be the first appearance of this theme which was afterwards incorporated into the final version. A further sketch, apparently of a soldier falling from his horse, appears lower

down to the left. At the bottom right is the soldier on the left of the final standard group. Finally, top left, are a pair of wildly galloping horsemen whom we shall meet again.

The remaining composition sketch at Venice seems, as we shall see, to be the earliest of all (Fig. 16). Leonardo appears first to have drawn the lower sketch and then to have made an amended version of the central section above. Thus the warrior in the center of the melee in the lower left sketch and the other brandishing a weapon above him recur slightly altered in the upper sketch. In the lower sketch on the right two soldiers are attacking another who has fallen with his horse on the ground between them. In the upper sketch the two horsemen have apparently been turned round.¹² Both horses, though the attitude is by no means clear, are apparently seen more or less from head on, facing the spectator. Nevertheless, the motive—an attack on a fallen horseman between them—is the same as in the lower sketch. Two things in this drawing call for special mention. One is that the motive of the horseman attacking a fallen warrior is one which we have already traced in the intermediate stage of what ultimately became the standard group. The other is that the soldier on the right in the upper sketch on this sheet is the same as the one in the same position in the British Museum drawing but that whereas in the latter he is firmly and confidently drawn here Leonardo has only achieved his outline after several attempts. We may therefore deduce that this drawing is probably the earlier of the two.¹³ Although the standard group may now seem very distant, there is a positive connection between it and the right-hand groups on the present sheet. For on the British Museum's sheet the warrior with his arm up (from this sheet) is associated with the horses biting each other, which never occurs again, except in the standard group.¹⁴ Furthermore the sequence of the three major composition sketches points in the same direction. In the one with the bridge the motive is merely the fight for the standard. In the intermediate one (Fig. 9) this motive is given the same importance as a further one—an attack by a horseman on a fallen warrior. In the right-hand sketches on the present sheet the latter motive is present without that of the standard. For these reasons, therefore, we may provisionally assume that the right-hand sketches on the present drawing are the earliest idea for what became the standard group.¹⁵

A further consideration supports this. The present sheet is the only one of the composition sketches in which the two principal horses are not facing in the same direction—that vital element in the final solution. The upper sketch may represent the first attempt to break away from the orthodox head-on collision, as represented in the lower one. But the latter itself has a most interesting independent claim to be considered the earliest of the whole series. The two horsemen closely resemble those in the background of the Adoration of the Kings of 1481 (Fig. 15), and it would be in keeping with what we know of Leonardo to suppose that on taking up again a problem which he had faced many years before he should begin at the point where he left off.

Once we have decided that the lower sketch on Figure 16 is the earliest of the Anghiari series an interesting conclusion follows. It becomes clear that the standard group was originally conceived on a pictorial pattern comparable with that of the final version but quite different in content. All that is happening here is that two horsemen are attacking another on the ground. There is still no sign of the motive of the cavalryman turning round on the left, of the horses biting one another or even of the standard itself (of which, incidentally, there is no mention in the specification so it was not

12. Neufeld (*op.cit.*, p. 176) thinks that the horses "were sketched twice, once emerging from the background and once galloping towards it." This may well be the explanation. The present writer, however, reads the sense of the final version as of horses galloping *towards* the spectator.

13. Neufeld (*op.cit.*, p. 176 n. 20) assumes the opposite chronological sequence to that proposed here in respect of the British Museum sheet and the two Venice sketches on the sheet under discussion at this point. He says "The chronological sequence of the three sketches would seem to be self-evident." That which he proposes is part of his theory of the evolution

of the whole scheme and in particular is dependent on the assumption that the "Two-Rider-Group" is distinct from the standard group. The present writer's reasons for rejecting this assumption and for dating the three sketches in the order proposed are put forward in the text.

14. It is true that drawings of biting horses occur on the Windsor sheet with the bathers (Fig. 12) but in this case they are clearly isolated studies for this particular motive.

15. The proportions already quoted for the whole picture would in any case preclude both of the two distinct groups on this sheet being placed to the left of the standard group.

regarded from the first as an iconographical necessity). As we have seen, these motives do not appear until the British Museum sheet, after which they are gradually incorporated into the composition. But pictorially this group is closer to the final cartoon than either of the intervening composition sketches. Here the two opposed masses do indeed rock against each other without a vertical center, and like the finished solution, but unlike the intermediary versions, the main lines are relatively straightforward and relatively unencumbered with superfluous figures. It therefore looks as though Leonardo's first thought was for the disposition of his masses. The actual incident to be depicted—what the characters were to be shown doing—was of secondary importance. As he went along he introduced new ideas for the incident and in doing so complicated the design. But in the end he simplified the design again while retaining the intermediate ideas for the action. So that the final version and the first one are comparable in design but totally different in content.

The relevance of all this to the present argument is that this early drawing contains more than the group from which we can see that of the standard developing. Above and below on the left is another design which should logically be an early idea for the left of the whole cartoon. So that if we study its design, rather than its iconography, we should expect to obtain a clear hint to the final appearance of this section. The principle of the design can be summarized in a few words. In upper and lower sketches alike a maelstrom is revolving round the lunging figure of the foot soldier in the center with his back to us. Two further factors may be noted. One is that the right, or future standard, group appears to have been placed on higher ground than the one on the left, or at least farther back in space, which corresponds with what we know of the final position. The second is that the two groups are distinct but yet flow naturally into each other. This, as we shall see, is our only evidence for the relation of the left to the center group.

The next clue to the build-up of the left section comes from the wildly galloping horsemen which we saw on the British Museum sheet. They reappear in another drawing at Venice drawn on top of an anatomical note apparently made by Leonardo some years earlier and again in a slight sketch at Windsor (Fig. 8). The dating of the last two drawings to the Anghiari period, though probable, is not beyond all controversy. But the presence of the same horsemen on the British Museum sheet, which is certainly an Anghiari, shows definitely that such figures were contemplated for the battle. Finally they turn up in a sketch by Michelangelo in the British Museum (Fig. 17). The horsemen on the left of this sketch are unmistakably the same as in Leonardo's drawings which we have seen and therefore establish a connection with him. On the strength of this Sir Kenneth Clark suggested that Michelangelo's sketch is a copy of part of Leonardo's cartoon, and certain other writers have agreed with this.¹⁶ Another point of connection is perhaps more significant still. It will be noticed that the action in Michelangelo's sketch centers pictorially on the standing figure of the foot soldier with his back to us, round whom the rest of the design revolves like a maelstrom. This is precisely what was predicted from the early sketch at Venice as likely to be the pictorial theme of the left-hand group of Leonardo's cartoon.

Before pursuing this point it must be admitted that certain other writers have thought that Michelangelo's sketch was not a copy of Leonardo's cartoon but an original design connected with his own battle cartoon, executed in rivalry with Leonardo's. It cannot be proved that Michelangelo ever contemplated incorporating this kind of equestrian battle into his own cartoon and on the whole it seems doubtful. Whatever may be the exact date of Michelangelo's sketch, even scholars who have considered it an original design not only date it to this period but admit the influence of Leonardo's cartoon.¹⁷ If they were right the word "influence" would have to

16. E.g. Popham (*op.cit.*, p. 125) "... it is assumed that this sketch is a copy of the left-hand portion of Leonardo's cartoon." See also L. Goldscheider: *Leonardo da Vinci* (Phaidon Press, London, 1943), p. 39.

17. E.g. Tolnay (*The Youth of Michelangelo*, 2nd ed.,

1947, p. 214) "... done at a time when the artist, inspired by Leonardo's sketches for the Battle of Anghiari, was thinking of painting a battle of horsemen." Johannes Wilde (Catalogue of Michelangelo's drawings in the British Museum, 1953, p. 8) also admits Leonardo's influence in this case.

be interpreted as covering the borrowing by Michelangelo not only of a figure direct from Leonardo but also of the main pictorial theme of part of his cartoon. This in itself takes some believing where Michelangelo is concerned. But a still stronger argument can be advanced against the theory. Michelangelo's drawing does not even *look* like an original composition sketch. It was clearly executed in an instant, yet when we analyze it we shall see that it represents a most elaborate and subtle composition such as not even Michelangelo could be expected to have evolved in a flash. For this reason alone one would say emphatically that it must be a record and not a design. Coupled with the other factors already mentioned the only logical conclusion would therefore seem to be that it is in fact Michelangelo's record of the left-hand side of Leonardo's design in its ultimate form.

It is, therefore, worthy of the closest study. It was clearly done at such speed that at the first glance it seems merely a mess. But Michelangelo was such a great artist that even in a sketch like this, which may have taken him no more than a couple of minutes to do, the shorthand he uses has a definite meaning and can be interpreted. In point of fact it is possible to understand the meaning of every single line in this sketch, and it is highly illuminating (the large figure along the base of the present sketch and at right angles to it was drawn in a different context and is not connected). Two cavalymen, riding side by side, are seen galloping in from the left. From their position they must be Milanese. Their aim is to attack the cavalymen, presumably Florentine, on the right, of whom likewise there appear to be two, one partly concealing the other. The hind quarters of the farther horse are seen in profile on the extreme right, the other one is lunging out at an angle thereby partly concealing the first. The cloak of one of these two soldiers flies out behind him. On the way, the farther of the cavalymen on the left is intercepted by another Florentine cavalryman in the center who attacks him. In the lower left corner a soldier is shown lying head downwards across the body of a fallen horse. (Leonardo, incidentally, had described such a motive in his description of how to paint a battle.) On the right of this is the figure on foot with his back to us and to the right again two more foot soldiers, the one on the left inclined away from the fallen warrior and his horse, the one on the right towards him. The last two are probably Florentine foot soldiers trying to drag the body back to their lines. This makes up a group of five horsemen, three foot soldiers and a fallen warrior and horse. The standard group consisted of four horsemen and three foot soldiers, so it looks as though the left group was comparable with the center, though probably rather less closely knit and taking up rather more space.

The soldier in the center in Michelangelo's sketch is interesting in another way. He may well connect with the most clearly defined of all Leonardo's studies for foot soldiers in the battle. This is a drawing at Turin (Fig. 6) which contains rapid sketches of the "doodle" variety and two fairly detailed studies of a warrior seen from the back. This figure must have formed part of the final design, since he reappears in Raphael's *Judgment of Solomon* (ceiling of the Stanza

Specific objections to Michelangelo's sketch being a copy of part of Leonardo's cartoon were raised by Wilde in an article in the *Burlington Magazine*, April 1953, p. 74, namely, 1) there is no evidence that Michelangelo, except in his extreme youth, ever copied a contemporary work, 2) the technique is comparable with that of other rapid sketches (unspecified) by Michelangelo, 3) the similarities to Leonardo's drawings can be paralleled on the *cassone* panel referred to in footnote 7 of the present article, 4) the horse, bottom left in Michelangelo's sketch, cannot have been copied from Leonardo "because it is impossible in nature: the hind legs still on the ground and forelegs turned upwards with a twist of 180 degrees." These objections may be countered as follows: 1) argument *de absentia* proves nothing, and since Leonardo's cartoon would have been the most important work by another artist that Michelangelo ever saw, it hardly violates probability to assume

that he might have considered it worth a few seconds of his time to record it in a sketch, 2) this argument is discussed in the text of the present article, 3) in the *cassone* in question there is admittedly some general resemblance of attitude in some of the horses to those of Leonardo (as there is in most equestrian battle scenes), but what we have seen as the vital element in Leonardo's early sketch for this part of the design—the fact that the group of horsemen centers on an unmounted figure—occurs in Michelangelo's sketch and not in the *cassone*, 4) any copyist may deviate from the original, and in the case of so rapid a sketch as Michelangelo's it would be surprising if the copy were exact; furthermore Leonardo himself perpetrates exactly the same "impossibility in nature" in an autograph drawing—Windsor, no. 12,331 (horse lying down in the third group from the top, on the left).

della Segnatura) and again, in reverse, in his *Christ bearing the Cross* (Prado). On account of his pose and of the fact that Raphael saw fit to make use of him on two separate occasions he must have been, in any case, a prominent figure, probably near the foreground. It is true that in Leonardo's drawing he is shown with a sword in his right hand, whereas what seems to be the corresponding figure in the Michelangelo sketch has his right arm raised as though throwing a spear. Nevertheless there are several positive indications that the Turin figure was intended for the left group. In the slight sketch at Windsor already referred to (Fig. 8), which certainly connects with the left group, there is a hasty indication, above the buttocks of the galloping horse, of just such a figure seen from the back. And both in this sheet (on the left) and on that at Turin (in the center) there is a figure lunging forward with arms upraised, who also occurs in the earliest of the Venice composition sketches (Fig. 16), where, significantly, he is seen in the left group. Similar figures occur as detached studies in the foreground of the intermediary Venice composition sketch (Fig. 9), though in this case no context is specified for them. It looks, therefore, as though Leonardo originally intended incorporating the lunging man into the left group, either as adjunct to the man seen from the back or as an alternative, and that in the final version only the latter figure was used.

If, therefore, we assume that the Turin figure fits into the context provided by Michelangelo's sketch we may go further and find some justification for doing so. For the figure in Leonardo's drawing fits the sense of Michelangelo's sketch rather better than Michelangelo's figure does. In the Turin drawing the figure is neither attacking nor being attacked. His shield was certainly on his outstretched left arm and his taut right arm, grasping his sword, is wholly expressive of wariness—of an attitude which is ready for anything and is at present waiting for a necessity to arise for him to strike. In his isolated position in Leonardo's drawing it is by no means clear what he is meant to be doing. But once he is interpolated into Michelangelo's sketch his posture makes sense. He would be there as defensive cover to his two comrades who are dragging away the dead or dying body of the third. Such a humanitarian motive, furthermore, would provide a typically Leonardesque element of contrast with the unadulterated bestiality of the center group, just as the two groups would have been subtly contrasted in design.

With the Turin drawing we reach the last piece of the jigsaw puzzle and we are now faced with the task of assembling them. The three main groups will be found to make up a horizontal band whose length in relation to its height considerably exceeds that of the space available to Leonardo, even when allowance is made for the central group's being somewhat higher up than the others.¹⁸ Now it is unlikely that there would have been much empty space between the sides of the picture and the figures, since the battle must in any case be assumed to have involved more men than would actually have been shown in the picture. If, therefore, the figures had been shown isolated from the sides it would be difficult for the spectator to imagine continuity beyond the limits of the picture to right and left and in consequence it seems highly probable that the figures would have extended up to the frame on each side. The difference in proportion between the figures and the frame must therefore have been made up above and below the figures.

The major problem in the assembling of the parts is the treatment of the stream. Owing to the fact that the right group was on the opposite side of it from the standard and left groups and that (in the interests of the design) there cannot have been a very great space between the standard and right groups, its course must have run more or less straight out of the picture space from the bridge as far as the nearest figures in the standard and right groups. It must also have been of a width at least great enough to make it look difficult for a horse to jump across, but not more. Nearer the foreground than the nearest figure in either group it could have curled around and for artistic reasons almost certainly did.

18. There is a similar relation of figures to frame in the *Last Supper*.

A second problem is the location of the figure of the Captain since the only evidence for this was the hasty sketch on the Venice drawing with the bridge. This indicates, nevertheless, that he was on the same side of the stream as the standard group and therefore separated by it from the reserves whom he was hailing. It also indicates that he was nearer the foreground than the standard group. Once the center and right groups had been assembled and some layout for the stream worked out, therefore, the figure of the Captain placed itself automatically.

So far only relatively finished drawings have been incorporated into the reconstruction. But for the extreme foreground, the two figures clambering out of the water, sketchy as they are (and clearly marking only a preliminary stage), still seem to fit the context so perfectly that it was decided to use them. For the topographical details of foreground and background there is no evidence of any kind, nor, indeed, was any to be expected, since it virtually does not exist for any other of Leonardo's paintings. But if ever a process of deduction by analogy gave a pointer it is surely here. For rocks and craggy mountains, usually combined with water, were the most constant of all Leonardo's artistic obsessions. A background of mountains occurs in the Uffizi *Annunciation*, in the Uffizi *Baptism*, in the Munich *Madonna*, in the Uffizi *Epiphany*, in the Vatican *S. Jerome*, in both versions of the *Virgin of the Rocks*, in the *Madonna with the Yarn-Winder*, the *Leda*, the *Mona Lisa*, and the Louvre *St. Anne*. If, therefore, rocks and rocky mountains fascinated Leonardo to such an extent that he was willing to incorporate them in pictures, such as the *Mona Lisa*, to which, strictly, they were not appropriate, it can surely be regarded as virtually certain that he would have made use of them in a subject to which they were—namely, a battle waged by a stream in the Apennines. For right or wrong, therefore, it seems that a foreground of rocks and a background of mountains, for both of which there are such abundant Leonardesque prototypes, is not only justifiable in the reconstruction but inevitable.

The resulting painting is reproduced here (Fig. 18). No single figure has been introduced for which there is no authority, but in a few cases the outlines have been augmented and details of dress added. We must assume that a good deal of the foreground would have been covered with debris, but as there was no drawing by Leonardo showing precisely how he intended incorporating it no attempt has been made to include it.

It is clearly the height of folly to make deductions from one's own reconstructions. Nevertheless, those which it is proposed to make could equally well have been made from Leonardo's own preliminary drawings though they may perhaps most conveniently be made now. The first is that the main lines of the composition would seem to have avoided the disadvantages of all the earlier examples in this genre. The figures would have been spread out to a considerable extent in depth—which in Ucello's and Piero della Francesca's battle-pieces they were not—but at the same time there would not have been a continuous and confused band of figures as in Bertoldo's relief. The three groups, as we saw in the earliest Venice drawing, would have been distinct (and complete in themselves) but would yet have flowed naturally into each other. A somewhat similar principle was adopted in a painting which may date from about this period, namely Piero di Cosimo's *Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths* in the National Gallery (Fig. 19). We may now, perhaps, understand why Leonardo made the standard group so densely interlocked. It could constitute the center place of the whole composition virtually as a single unit and would thus have introduced a greater measure of coherence into the vast composition.

From now on different elements in Leonardo's way of representing a battle become the normal language of painters faced with such a problem. The bridge towards the right occurs in Giulio Romano's *Battle of Constantine* in the Vatican, in Titian's *Battle of Cadore* and Rubens' *Battle of the Amazons*, while the general conception can be traced up to the work of seventeenth century painters such as Courtois, Wouwermann, or Van der Meulen and beyond them to the nineteenth century. The *Battle of Anghiari* was, simply, the first modern battle-piece. For that reason it is

likely that Leonardo's cartoon, if we could see it today, would appear less startling than it did when its novelty was unheralded.

Secondly, if the suggestion is correct that the *Battle of Anghiari* included the motive of soldiers scrambling out of the water a very interesting line of thought follows naturally. For Leonardo had a start of about nine months on Michelangelo in the execution of the rival cartoons. By December 1504, when Michelangelo started his, Leonardo's must have been in an advanced state.¹⁹ Now it is highly likely that Michelangelo would have realized that he could never hope to rival Leonardo in the depiction of horses. But it is just possible that he saw that Leonardo had incorporated as an incidental something which he, Michelangelo, thought he could do better and that for that reason he made soldiers scrambling out of the water a main theme of his cartoon.

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

19. See Wilde, *op.cit.* Leonardo seems to have started his cartoon by February or March 1504, Michelangelo by December 1504.



TWO REDISCOVERED LANDSCAPES BY GÉRICAUT AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF HIS EARLY WORK*

LORENZ EITNER

I

DESPITE his troubled life, his long illness, and early death, Géricault left a prodigious number of works. In the presence of the more than twelve hundred paintings and drawings—not to mention the lithographs and the essays in sculpture—Delacroix's judgment that Géricault "squandered his youth" seems severe.¹ The scope of Géricault's work in fact is only beginning to become recognized.² Since the last attempt at a complete catalogue was published, in 1879,³ the number of his known works has more than doubled. Scarcely a year passes without some significant discovery. And yet, all this amounts only to a fragment of his total production. Géricault's biographer, Charles Clément, still knew of important paintings that have inexplicably vanished, despite the attention which collectors and scholars have continuously given to Géricault.

Among these lost pictures were two landscapes in the manner of Gaspar Dughet ("Guaspre") which Clément mentions under number 16 of his catalogue:⁴

"LARGE LANDSCAPE OF VERTICAL FORMAT. In the manner of Guaspre. In the middle distance, fishermen setting out in a boat.

Sold at the Ary Scheffer sale, March 1859, for 1150 Francs.—Belongs to M. Dornan.—The pendant to this painting, not known to me, used to be in Géricault's studio at the time of the execution of the *Medusa*.'

H. 2 m 54 - W. 2 m 20."

Their disappearance left a tantalizing gap in our knowledge of Géricault's work. The astonishingly large size (exceeded only by the colossal *Medusa*, and roughly equal to his two large Salon entries, the *Chasseur* of 1812 and the *Wounded Cuirassier* of 1814) gave reason to suppose that they must have been among his more ambitious efforts. Their subject matter further increased our curiosity, for landscapes are rare in Géricault's work. Clément's laconic phrase "in the manner of Guaspre," in addition, hinted that the paintings were indebted to the tradition of Poussin, and promised insight into an obscure phase of his development. But there seemed little hope that the two landscapes would ever be seen again, for one of them had already become lost in Clément's

* My thanks are due to Mr. Paul Brame and Mr. C. de Hauke who permitted me to view the two rediscovered paintings in Paris and very kindly made available to me a set of excellent photographs.

1. Cf. the autobiographical fragment, quoted in L. Veron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, Paris, Librairie Nouvelle, 1856, I, p. 270: "Il gaspilla sa jeunesse; il était extrême et passionné en tout."

2. The author has for several years been attempting to compile a comprehensive catalogue of the extant paintings, drawings, and watercolors by Géricault and would welcome any information concerning hitherto unknown works attributed to this artist that have found their way into American collections.

3. Charles Clément, *Géricault, étude biographique et critique*, Paris, Didier, 1879. Originally published in serial form in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, the first edition of this book appeared in 1867. The final (third) edition of 1879 contains important additions to the catalogue.

4. Clément, *op.cit.*, p. 280. A description in about the same terms occurs also on p. 72. The landscape which figured in the Scheffer collection is listed in the catalogue of this collection's sale in 1859 as: 28.—*Paysage. Au premier plan des pêcheurs mettant à l'eau une barque. H 2 mètres 54 cm, L 2 mètres 20 cm.* Cf. *Catalogue de tableaux anciens et modernes . . . provenant de M. Ary Scheffer*, Hôtel des Commissaires Priseurs, Rue Drouot, 15-16 Mars 1859.

time, the other had disappeared soon after. Neither was discussed in the subsequent literature, nor did the pair turn up in any of the exhibitions which, in the years from 1924 until 1952, did much to bring together the scattered work of Géricault.⁵

The two landscapes (Figs. 1 and 2), recently came to light in Paris. Their dimensions (H. 2 m 50 - W. 2 m 18) correspond almost exactly to those noted by Clément. Clément's label "in the manner of Guaspre" certainly applies to them. One of the landscapes includes, in the middle distance, fishermen setting out in a boat. Both pictures, on the grounds of style and quality, can be given without hesitation to Géricault. There is little doubt that they are the long-lost landscapes mentioned by Clément, and their rediscovery amounts to the most important addition in recent years to the corpus of Géricault's known work.⁶

We can only guess at the circumstances which prompted Géricault to paint these unusual pictures. According to their present owner, they once hung in a room in the house of a friend of the artist, named Marceau, at Villers-Cotterets. Most probably, they were designed to serve as decorative wall panels and were determined in size and shape, perhaps even in color, by the nature of their setting. They appear to be free improvisations, executed in a technique that indicates both speed and masterly assurance. The effects are managed boldly and broadly, in keeping with the truly monumental scale; it is easy to imagine the panels as back-drops for some half-classical, half-romantic stage play of the period. The known circumstances and habits of Géricault's life at the time (i.e. presumably before 1818-1819, when one of the paintings was seen in Géricault's studio),⁷ lead us to assume that he undertook them as a personal favor for his friend, rather than as a paid commission.

At first sight, the two landscapes present a marked contrast, which is even more apparent when they are seen in color, rather than in the black and white of photographic reproduction. In the one which is dominated by the heavy shapes of the Roman tomb (Fig. 1), every form has substantial, block-like solidity. In the other (Fig. 2), the illumination breaks up the objects; low, slanting rays break into the picture from behind a vine-covered ruin, glancing off rocks and masonry, silhouetting the arches and the distant mountains, reducing their bulk and causing the very construction of the landscape to seem less firm. The difference in color effect is equally striking. The menacing shadow of approaching storm overhangs the landscape with the tomb; its colors are cold—somber grey-greens, grey-blues and browns predominate. The landscape with the aqueduct is bathed in the yellow light of evening, the illumination fills the space, it lies not on the surfaces but rather envelops the objects. This atmospheric and luminous treatment strikes the observer as "Romantic" and in some ways suggestive of Claude, in comparison with the more classicist and tectonic construction of the other landscape.

Géricault's two paintings echo the tradition of the heroic landscape of the seventeenth century in formal arrangement, the grandiose conception and the Italian flavor. They are synthetic compositions—not reminiscences—put together of more or less typical motifs, imaginatively arranged, without strict regard for spatial coherence. Both pictures belong rather to the realm of art than observed reality. Clément's characterization "in the manner of Guaspre" is certainly apt: these

5. As this is being written, the two landscapes are on view at the *Kunstmuseum* of Winterthur as part of a large and extremely important Géricault exhibition, assembled by Pierre Dubaut under the sponsorship of the *Kunstverein* of Winterthur, the most complete that has been held since the centennial exhibition at the *Galerie Jean Charpentier* in 1924. (Cf. the catalogue, *Théodore Géricault (1791-1824)*, *Kunstmuseum Winterthur*, August 30-November 8, 1953, p. 31, nos. 70 and 71.)

6. How these landscapes came to be reunited, after what appears to have been a long separation, is something of a mystery. It seems possible that M. Dornan, who purchased the landscape with the fishermen at the Scheffer sale in 1859, had

previously acquired its counterpart. From Clément's extremely brief descriptive statements, it does not appear whether or not at the time he wrote his book he had recently seen and studied the landscape with the fishermen, the only one of the two which he knew personally. It appears quite possible that he had seen this picture, perhaps only briefly, at the time of the Scheffer sale in 1859 and that he based his mention of it on its listing in the catalogue of that sale (cf. note 4 above), relying for additional facts and for his dating of the landscapes on the reminiscences of Géricault's friends, perhaps Montfort and Lehoux.

7. Clément, *op.cit.*, p. 72.



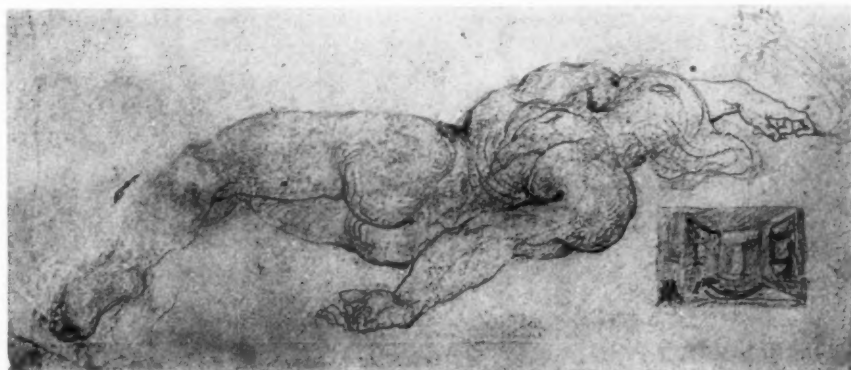
1. Th. Géricault, *Ideal Landscape*. Private Collection, Paris (Courtesy of Messrs. P. Brame and C. de Hauke)



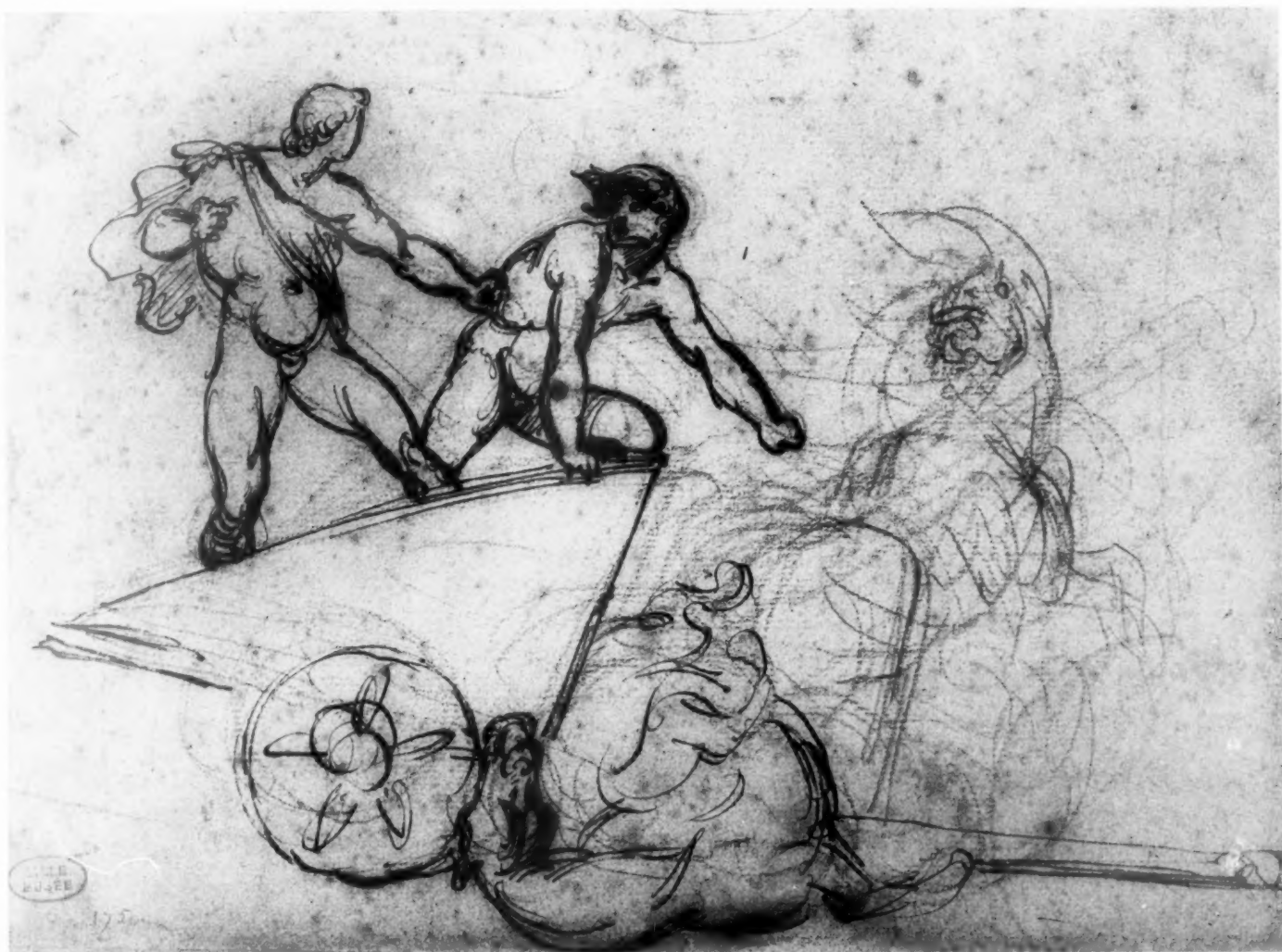
2. Th. Géricault. *Ideal Landscape*. Private Collection, Paris (Courtesy of Messrs. P. Brame and C. de Hauke)



3. Th. Géricault. *The Triumph of Galatea*. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



4. Th. Géricault, Study of Nude (for the *Cavalry Battle*), Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



5. Th. Géricault. *Mars and Hercules on a Chariot*. Lille, Musée Wicar



6. Th. Géricault. *The Deluge*. Louvre, Paris



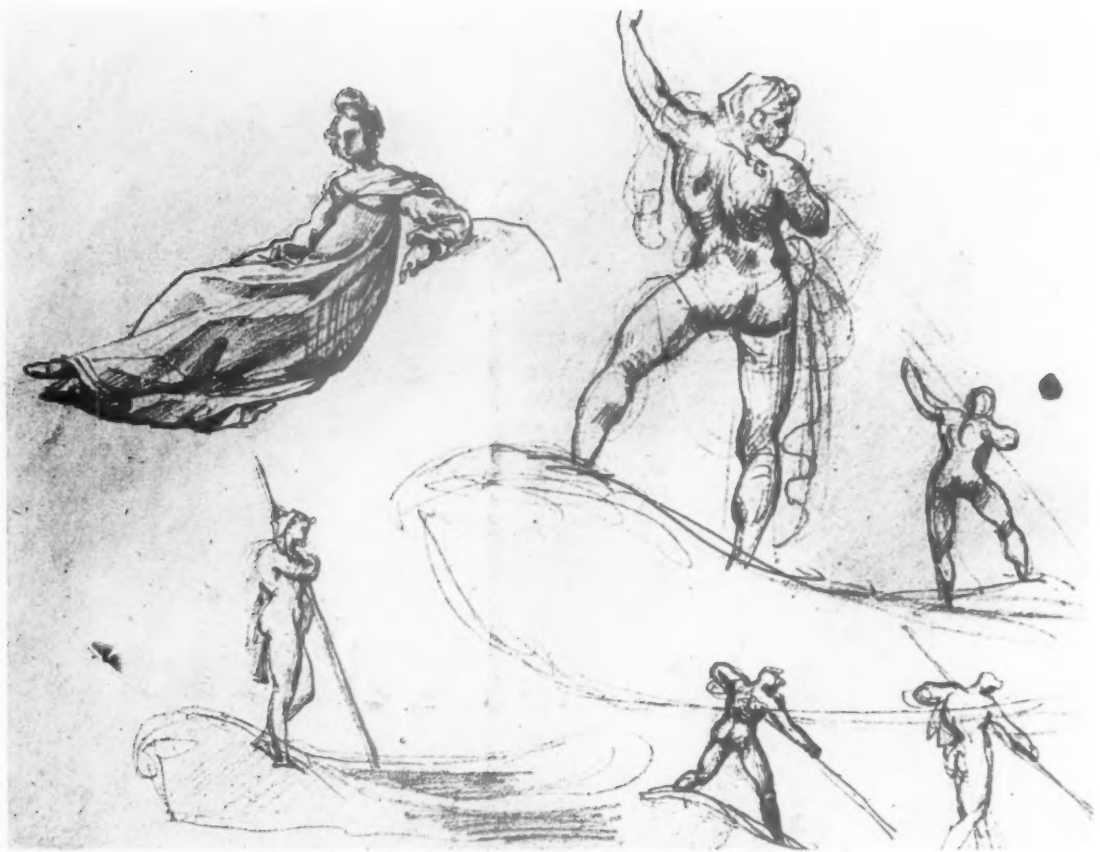
7. Th. Géricault. Sketches (detail of fol. 43v)
Art Institute of Chicago
(Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago,
the Tiffany and Margaret Blake Collection)



8. Th. Géricault. Decorative Landscape Studies.
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



9. Th. Géricault. *Landscape with Fishermen*. Sachs Collection, Cambridge,
Mass. (Courtesy of the Fogg Museum of Art)



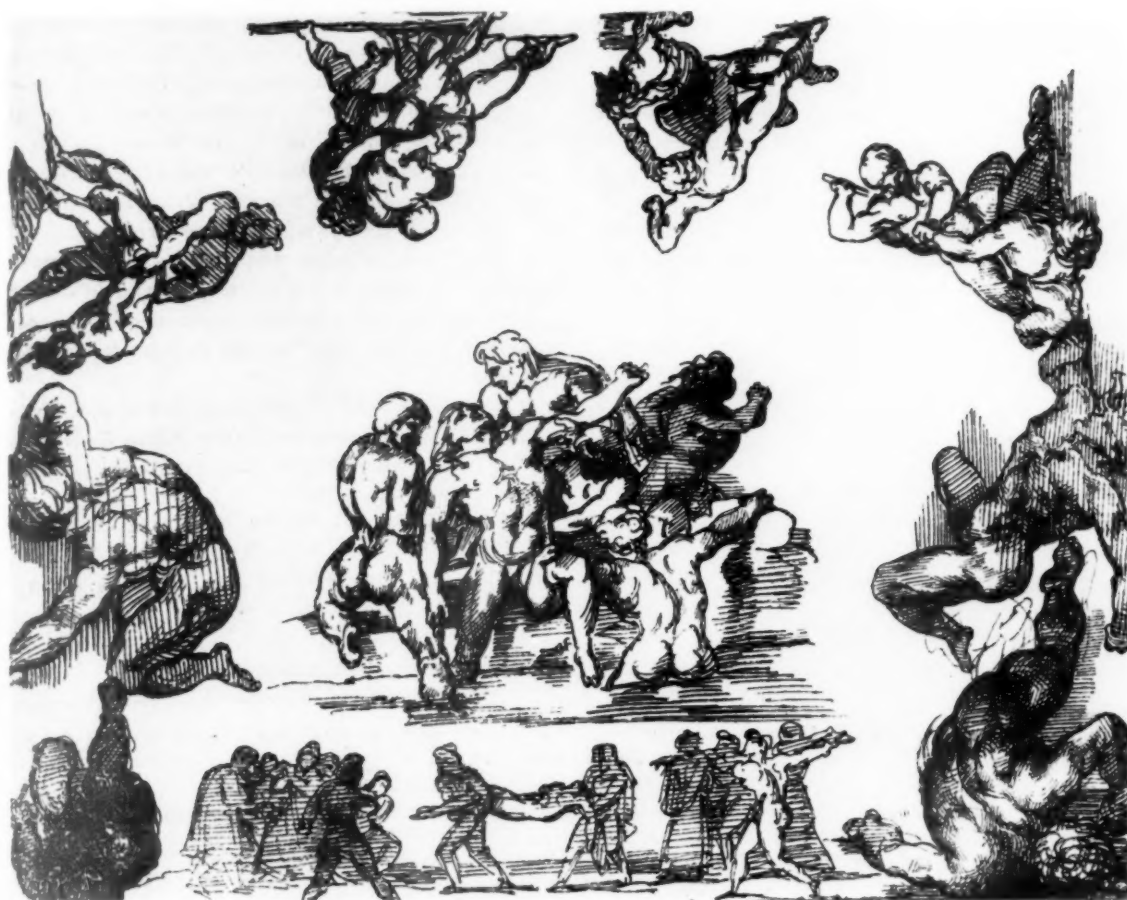
10. Th. Géricault. Study of Fishermen. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



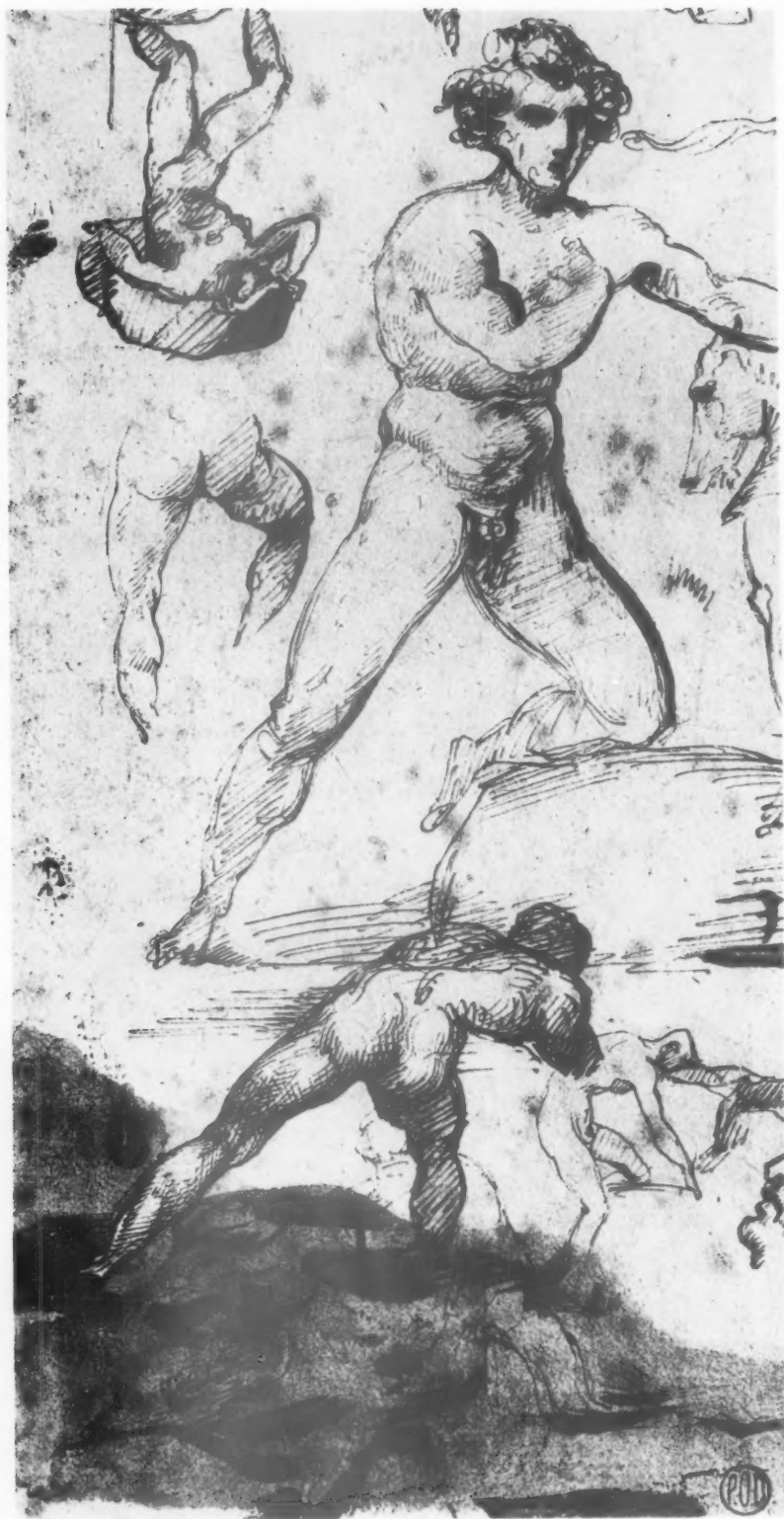
11. Th. Géricault. *Man Embracing Woman*. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



12. Th. Géricault. *The Bull Tamer (Hercules?)*. Paris, Louvre



13. Th. Géricault. *The Drowned Man and Other Sketches*.
Formerly Sensier Collection, Paris (present location unknown)



14. Th. Géricault, Sketches of Nudes (for the *Battle of Gods and Giants*)
P. Dubaut Collection, Paris

landscapes resemble, more closely than any others of their period, the Baroque, proto-Romantic style of Dughet. And yet they do more than paraphrase their model; they express a different sentiment. There is little danger of mistaking them for seventeenth-century landscapes. Géricault has used the older vocabulary to express feelings that are peculiar to his own time. Like the heroic landscapes of the seventeenth century, his panels present ideal constructions, but they go beyond their prototypes in a bold disregard of rational design. More tormented, more boundlessly spacious and bleakly wild than the most "Romantic" landscapes of Dughet, they also surpass in these respects the tempests of Joseph Vernet and the ruins of Hubert Robert. The unusually tall format of the panels must have influenced Géricault in welding rocks and ruins and rolling clouds into this powerful ascent of zigzagging diagonals which carries the horizon line to a height rarely attained in painting after the sixteenth century. But it was certainly a deliberate dramatic intent, not merely an accident of format alone which led him to suppress quieting horizontals. Every detail in the two pictures is chosen for its evocativeness and placed for effect. Tower, cliff, cloud-bank and sunset stand as symbols for states of feeling; neither the logic of space nor the geometry of design, but a poetic harmony has called them into being and binds them together.

The figures, quite small in scale, that enliven the foregrounds and middle distances reflect the mood of the landscapes. In the painting with the aqueduct the action seems to be without special significance; the Michelangelesque bathers and the shepherd with Phrygian cap and staff perhaps serve only to underline the lyrical, Arcadian character of the scene. The other landscape, by contrast, hints at some dramatic occurrence, half-expressed only, perhaps deliberately left vague. The family group at the shore pleads with the fishermen in the small boat, as if escaping from some dark fate. Behind them a broken bridge spans the river; storm clouds are gathering in the sky above the ruined Roman tomb. Near the path which leads to the river stands a gallows from which hang a decaying leg and an arm. It is not necessary to suppose that a specific narrative, perhaps a passage from some novel or poem, inspired this scene. More probably it is a free invention, yet it has not merely been inserted into the landscape: the sense of menace, flight, and desperate urgency which the action conveys fits well the whole picture's construction, the oppressive weightiness of its forms, its clashing diagonals and baleful colors.

II

What is the date of these landscapes, and where do they fit into the chronology of Géricault's artistic evolution? In attempting to answer these questions, we may note, by way of preface, that Géricault's work poses peculiar difficulties. Within the fewer than fifteen years of his active life,⁸ his development ran an erratic course. Rather than progressing in one clear direction, it was interrupted by changes of intention which, on the surface, appear as a series of sudden starts and reversals. But in a more basic sense it showed remarkable self-consistency, a tenacious clinging to personal idiosyncrasies in the face of external influences, and a tendency to return to solutions that he had once before tried and discarded. Being rapid, brief, and complex, Géricault's development is not easy to subdivide into "periods," within which individual works can be ranged neatly, like books on a library shelf. His production, moreover, presents a fragmentary and experimental character. Fully completed paintings are rare in comparison with the mass of exploratory sketches and studies. The few dated or documented pieces are vastly outnumbered by works which can be situated within the chronology only by means of laborious, and often hazardous, stylistic comparison.

Our two landscapes belong to this latter class. What evidence do we have for their dating?

8. Géricault began his apprenticeship in 1808, as pupil of Carle Vernet. In 1810, he changed masters and remained, for about eleven months, with Pierre-Narcisse Guérin. His earliest important independent work is the *Charging Chasseur*, painted in 1812. Already ten years later, in the summer or fall of

1822, he suffered the first of the riding accidents which caused his fatal illness. During most of 1823, he seems to have been bedridden, though still active in the periods of respite which his rapidly progressing illness gave him. He died on January 26, 1824.

No known documents, nor any tangible connections with external events fix their place in Géricault's work. Their general Italian character does not necessarily relate them to his sojourn in Italy (1816-1817), for they evidently portray imagined rather than observed sites, and are influenced by paintings or engravings⁹ rather than personal reminiscences. Their large format makes it appear unlikely that Géricault brought them back from Italy, and for the same reason it seems improbable that he painted them during his English stay in 1820-1822. We will have to accept Clément's statement that friends saw the finished pictures in his studio at the time of the *Medusa*, in 1818-1819.¹⁰ These extraneous and largely negative indications leave open the broad probability that the landscapes were either painted during 1812-1816 or during 1817-1819, i.e. the years preceding or immediately following the Italian trip.

In the absence of positive evidence, it is worth paying special attention to Clément's opinion which may reflect the recollections of Géricault's contemporaries. In his discussion of Géricault's early work, Clément makes a point of mentioning several important landscapes, including our pair. "Many indications lead us to believe," he adds, "that they were painted during the interval of eighteen to twenty months that elapsed between the execution of the *Chasseur* and that of the *Cuirassier*, at any rate before his departure for Italy,"¹¹ in other words: probably between 1812 and 1814, and certainly before 1816. Besides our two panels, he singles out: (1) the study of a rocky coast with a woman's body being washed ashore by stormy seas (a composition well known under the name of *Epave*),¹² (2) an "energetically executed seascape" (lost),¹³ and (3) the paraphrase of Poussin's *Deluge* (Fig. 6) which has recently entered the Louvre.¹⁴ Clément thus associates the two landscape panels which concern us here with several smaller landscapes, and assigns to the whole group the approximate date of 1812-1814. When it comes to the dating of the individual pictures, he shows great caution, intimating that the two large panels "perhaps" were painted even earlier than 1812, while the *Deluge* came "much later" than the other pictures.¹⁵ Strictly interpreted, Clément's passage means that our two large landscapes may date from before 1812, the *Epave* and the lost seascape about 1812-1814, and the *Deluge* some time after 1814.

Only the *Epave* and the *Deluge* are available for stylistic comparison with our two landscapes. Contrary to what Clément's remark might lead us to believe, it is the *Deluge* which resembles them, not the *Epave*. The resemblance is not merely a matter of their common orientation to seventeenth century tradition (Poussin in the *Deluge* and Dughet in the landscapes), though this, too, constitutes a significant link. It is, above all, a close stylistic similarity, one which extends to the color, to the figure types, the sharply drawn contours and sculptural volumes, and even to the very brushwork. It is hard to understand why Clément should have singled out the *Deluge* for a particularly late and the two landscapes for a particularly early date. Quite clearly, they belong together, and are not separated by a period of several years. The *Epave*, on the other hand, presents no close analogies in style or technique, and evidently belongs to a later period.

We do not know what the "many indications" may have been that led Clément to assign the

9. An example of the kind of engraving on which Géricault probably based this motif is Piranesi's *Sepolcro di Cecilia Metella* (1762), plate 112 in the series of the *Vedute di Roma*.

10. Clément, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

11. Clément, *op.cit.*, pp. 71-73.

12. Two versions exist of this composition, a small sketch in the Louvre (oil on paper applied to canvas; 190 x 240 mm) and a larger, more finished painting in the Musée de l'Art Moderne in Brussels (oil on canvas, 500 x 610 mm). A third version, similar to the one in Brussels, is in the Rouen museum; it does not appear to be genuine. Which of the two authentic versions may be identical with the painting described by Clément (*op.cit.*, p. 293, no. 67) cannot be determined, since Clément fails to mention the dimensions.

13. Clément, *op.cit.*, pp. 72 and 280, no. 17.

14. Oil on canvas, 970 x 1,280 mm. Acquired by the Louvre

in 1950, it was formerly in the de Girardin (1869) and S. Piot collections. Cf. Clément, *op.cit.*, pp. 73 and 309, no. 133 (listed among the paintings of 1818-1820).

M. Tourneux, in "Particularités intimes sur la vie et l'œuvre de Géricault," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1912, pp. 56ff. mentions a copy by Géricault after Poussin's *Deluge*. While it is possible that Tourneux has in mind Géricault's adaptation of the *Deluge* now in the Louvre, it seems equally possible that Géricault also painted a literal copy of Poussin's picture. A pen and wash drawing by Géricault after the group of the man holding on to a swimming horse in Poussin's *Deluge* was exhibited at the Géricault exhibition held at Marlborough Fine Art Ltd., London, October-November 1952 (cf. cat. no. 68, 182-263 mm).

15. Clément, *op.cit.*, pp. 71-73.

bulk of Géricault's earlier landscapes to the years 1812-1814, but we have some proof that during these years Géricault did in fact occupy himself with landscape composition. The fragment of a sketchbook in the Chicago Art Institute¹⁶ contains numerous landscape drawings that can be dated close to 1814.¹⁷ Some of these are impressions of the country around Paris, prosaically recorded without any attempt at heroic or decorative stylization; they bear not the slightest resemblance to the pair of large paintings or to the closely related *Deluge*. Others, on the contrary, interpret imaginary forest views composed of decorative, dramatically massed foliage in a manner that gives them an odd eighteenth century flavor. Arranged in pairs of series of three, these "constructed" landscapes of oblong vertical format, with rounded tops, resemble designs for wall paintings or painted screens¹⁸ (Fig. 7). Quite similar compositions of rocks, foliage, and sky, evidently from the same period as the sketches in Chicago, are preserved at the Musée Bonnat in Bayonne¹⁹ (Fig. 8). We may conclude that in 1812-1814, Géricault not only took an interest in landscape, but actually projected decorative landscape panels of monumental conception that recall our pair in type, if not in the precise choice of motifs.

The beautiful pen and wash drawing of a mountainous river landscape with fishermen, in the Sachs collection (Fig. 9), belongs more immediately in the vicinity of the two large paintings.²⁰ It proclaims its affinity to them in the arrangement of the setting, the heroic conception, the treatment and composition of the figures, and even in the proportions of its format. Three variant studies of the same motif occur on a sheet in the possession of Pierre Dubaut.²¹ Executed in a technique similar to that of the drawing in the Sachs collection but with a more lavish use of dark washes, they seem even more closely related to the large paintings, for they include the umbrella-shaped pine that is so conspicuous in the landscape with the aqueduct. Several pencil sketches of fishermen wielding poles (Fig. 10) or dragging nets, in the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne, complete this set of connected drawings.²² While none of them served directly in the execution of the painted panels, it appears more than probable that Géricault drew them in the process of developing his landscape project.

16. The Chicago album, though a most important document for the study of Géricault's work, has not yet received sufficient attention. Formerly in the collections of Ary Scheffer, Hulot, and Vitta, it came to the Chicago Art Institute as part of the Tiffany and Blake bequest in 1947. Originally (cf. Clément, *op.cit.*, p. 353 n. 1) it comprised 69, now only 64 sheets, matted and bound into covers of nineteenth century date. (One of the missing sheets, now in a Swiss collection, was recently on view as no. 136 of the Géricault exhibition in Winterthur.) The sheets gathered together in the Chicago album belong to two distinct periods in Géricault's life and must have come from at least two separate sketchbooks. The later drawings (sheets 1-33 and 62-64 as arranged in the album) are for the most part related to Géricault's lithographs of 1818-1820 and can safely be dated in those years. The earlier drawings (sheets 34-61) are of uniformly smaller format (173 x 230 mm, as compared to 226 x 288 mm) and mostly refer to military projects that can be dated in the period from 1812 until 1814. They include a small drawing of the *Charging Chasseur* of 1812 (this sketch appears to be a reminiscence of, rather than a study for the painting) and a sketch for *Louis XVIII Reviewing Troops in the Champs de Mars* (1814). On the whole, most of these earlier drawings seem to date closer to 1814 than 1812. It may be noted that the album does not include any preparations for the *Wounded Cuirassier* of 1814, unless a few sketches of soldiers in attitudes of dejection (fols. 34v and 45v) be considered as related to the earliest stages in the evolution of the *Cuirassier*. The numerous studies for the *Signboard of a Hoofsmith* (cf. fols. 38-40, 53r), compositionally the immediate ancestor of the *Wounded Cuirassier*, may indicate that these drawings were executed shortly before Géricault conceived this latter project in 1814.

17. The landscape drawings occur on the following sheets: 34v, 40, 42, 43, 46v, 49r, 52r, 58. All these belong, as their style, technique, subject matter and page format indicate, among the early portion of the album which, by means of the occurrence of datable compositions, can be assigned to the years 1812-1814 (cf. note 16 above).

18. Such designs occur on fols. 42v and 43 of the Chicago album.

19. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, inv. no. LB 2123.

20. Formerly in the collections Mathey, Trévisé, and Gobin, this drawing is probably identical with one of the pair of drawings described by Clément, *op.cit.* p. 328, no. 5: "Two landscapes; they recall the two paintings of vertical format of which one belongs to M. Dornan.—Pen and watercolors.—In the possession of M. Sauve. H. 230-L. 210 mill." (The dimensions of the drawing in the Sachs collection are 232 x 207 mm.)

21. Never published, this drawing was exhibited at the Centennial exhibition of 1924 (Gal. Jean Charpentier; no. 178), the exhibitions organized by M. Gobin in 1935 (no. 29) and Bernheim-Jeune in 1937 (no. 93) and was recently shown at the Winterthur exhibition (no. 135). It is executed in pencil, pen, and washes, measures 180 x 130 mm, and formerly belonged to the collections of Destailleur, Sensier, Dollfus, and Sortais.

22. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, inv. no. LB 2085, 2086, 2087 (206 x 281 mm). LB 2085 bears on its verso a sketch of a seated woman playing a guitar which resembles the costumed women and musical boating parties that occur on fols. 48v and 49v of the Chicago album. Another landscape drawing by Géricault in the Musée Bonnat (inv. no. LB 2034) representing boatmen on the river (pen, washes, touches of gouache, 105 x 149 mm) probably also belongs to this group.

The rediscovered landscapes thus exist not wholly in isolation within Géricault's work; they can be associated with other paintings and with drawings in various media. Seen as part of a group, they appear no longer quite so sharply exceptional; the essential features of their style become more distinct and offer themselves for comparison with better known works in the sequence of Géricault's stylistic development. Unfortunately, not one member of this "family" is itself firmly datable. The problem of dating the landscapes and their immediate relatives must be approached through a broad analysis which seeks for the closest parallels to their style in the general evolution of Géricault's work.

What is the essential style of the landscapes and their group? Perhaps their most conspicuous trait is the vigorous tenebrism that is evident in the solidly carved forms of the mountainous terrain and even more apparent in the sharp chiaroscuro of the figures. In the drawings which accompany the paintings dark sepia patches or energetic hatchings aim for the same effect of hard corporeality and bulk. Thick outlines, stiffly angular or powerfully rotund, tightly hug the forms, seeming to compress and abbreviate them; it is the look of "iron wire," as he himself expressed it, for which Géricault strove. Uniformly, continuously emphatic, the lines define every shape with equal sharpness, whether it be craggy rock or muscular thigh. The uncompromising hardness of contour and modeling strongly suggests sculpture. The figure types themselves have something of the character of sculptural abstractions; composed of spherical and cubical forms, the short, rather squat bodies with small heads are twisted into postures that bring the bulge of muscle into crisp relief. The tautness of the contours corresponds to an extreme tension in the postures. Every motion assumes the force of dramatic pantomime. These compact bodies more than hint at an influence from Michelangelo: some of them imitate specific Michelangelesque motifs. A noteworthy example of such borrowing is the athletic nude that raises himself from the water onto the rocky shore with a powerful torsion of his whole body. Adapted from the cartoon of the *Battle of Cascina*, this figure occurs both in the *Deluge* and in the landscape with the aqueduct. It seems to have been a favorite with Géricault, who used it in several compositional studies (Figs. 12-13) and also adapted it for the *Medusa*.²³

The distinctive style which characterizes the landscapes and the associated works—it might be called his "sculptural" manner—emerged early in Géricault's development and continued well into its middle phase. The first known manifestations of this manner, and probably representing its origin, are the studies after ancient statuary which he drew at the time of his apprenticeship with Guerin, i.e. about 1810-1811. The sketchbook in the Louvre and numerous drawings scattered throughout museums and private collections document this period reasonably well.²⁴ From about this time dates the earliest of Géricault's more ambitious compositional projects of which we still possess some traces, the *Death of Hector*.²⁵ Roughly contemporary with it, perhaps slightly later,

23. Cf. the drawing of the *Bull Tamer* in the Louvre (RF 795) and the less well-known *Drowned Man* formerly in the collections Binder and Sensier (Clément, *op.cit.* p. 364, no. 167), a most interesting paraphrase of the *Battle of Cascina* composition, surrounded by marginal sketches which include reminiscences of the *Last Judgment*. In the preliminary designs for the *Medusa*, Géricault made use of the climbing figure from the *Battle of Cascina* for the man, seen in back view, who rises from a kneeling position and reaches upward toward the distant rescue vessel. The descent of this motif from the Michelangelesque prototype, obscured by dress and posture changes in the later versions, can still be seen in the drawings Lille, inv. no. 1391, and Rouen, cat. 1386.

24. Unlike the sketchbook fragments of the Chicago album, the Louvre sketchbook has remained complete and undisturbed within its original covers. Formerly in the collections Coutan, Cheramy and Zoubaloff, it entered the Louvre in 1924 (RF 6072). The dimensions of the sheets are 190 x 143 mm. The contents of the sketchbook, despite its undisturbed preservation, do not belong to one period alone. Géricault used it intermittently at various times from about 1810 until

1814. Among the early drawings (ca. 1810-11), executed in a very distinctive pen and wash technique, are numerous compositional studies, sketches after antique sculpture, after Michelangelo (a Sistine *ignudo* on page 38) and Raphael (the woman carrying a vase on her head from the *Fire in the Borgo* on page 3). Stylistically closely related to these sketches are drawings after ancient sculptures (mainly after reliefs) in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (*Bacchanale*), the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne (inv. nos. LB 2028-2031), the Museum of Rouen (cat. 1382v and 1402), the British Museum (inv. 1920-2-16-2v), the collections of MM. Lipschitz, Gobin and others. All of these can be dated about 1810-1811.

25. Among these a drawing in the collection of Pierre Dubaut (Clément, *op.cit.*, p. 430, no. 92 bis), and other drawings in the museums of Orléans (inv. 740 D), Rouen (cat. 1388v and 1414), Bayonne (inv. 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066). The first idea for the composition came from a well-known Roman sarcophagus relief in the Louvre. Sketches for the *Death of Hector* occurring among the early drawings of the Louvre sketchbook (fols. 1v and 18v) indicate a date close to 1810-1811 for this project.

is that astonishing series of erotic mythologies:²⁶ preternaturally muscular athletes or Satyrs locked in convulsive struggle with almost equally powerful women (Fig. 11). All these early works share a striving for heavy three-dimensionality, underlined by a vigorous wash and gouache technique, and a tremendous heaviness of touch. Here already we find the thick continuous pen contours encompassing bodies that are articulated by an abrupt succession of deep shadows and sharp lights. Here, too, we find the somewhat mannerist ancestors of the figures that appear in our landscapes and in the *Deluge*, gigantic muscle-men, twisted into complex postures that emphasize every flexing and swelling of the powerful thighs and grotesquely hunched backs. It is a figure style that has no clear relationship to the stricter standards of the neo-classical school, but rather seems a very personal, "Baroque," expansion of Hellenistic or Roman models, with frequent signs of influence from Michelangelo. A typical example of this early manner is the *Galatea* in the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne (Fig. 3),²⁷ which combines all these traits of style and technique with a peculiar garishness of color (orange and blue washes) that often appears in Géricault's youthful exercises.

About 1812, the time of the *Charging Chasseur*, Géricault's interest sharply shifts to modern subject matter. The change is illustrated by the difference between the earlier portion of the Louvre sketchbook (ca. 1810-1911) and the Chicago sketchbook fragment (ca. 1812-1814).²⁸ Whereas in the sketches in the Louvre Géricault concentrates on ancient gods and heroes, nude or classically draped, he deals in the drawings in Chicago with landscapes, animals, uniformed hussars and Mamelukes. The change in content is accompanied by a change in style. The earlier sculptural, neo-Baroque manner, incompatible with the new projects and with Géricault's new outlook, recedes—but it does not quite disappear. The influence of Gros' Romantic modernity, the colorism of the Venetians and Flemings, the new impetus toward realism seem, on the surface, to give to his work a uniform and exclusive direction: this is the time of Géricault's supposed revolt against classicism. But although the bulk of his work during this period does bear the imprint of anti-classicism, an undercurrent of interest in ancient mythology survives in it together with an inclination to return to the earlier manner when dealing with complex monumental projects. An instance of such a project, dating from about 1814, is the *Cavalry Battle* for which we have numerous drawings.²⁹ Unlike the *Charging Chasseur* and the more realist military genres or portraits, this carefully balanced composition obviously continues the earlier "sculptural" manner. Heavy contours and a dramatic illumination underline the bulk of the muscular bodies which are twisted into academic postures. The modern uniforms conceal classicist figure motifs (Fig. 4).

The period of the *Cavalry Battle* (about 1814) marks Géricault's return to a more compact chiaroscuro style. It is the time of his second Salon entry of monumental scale, the *Wounded Cuiras-*

26. These drawings form a group, distinct in theme and style. Among them are the drawings Bayonne, inv. 2051 (Clément, no. 173), 2052, 2070, 2071; Louvre, RF 29483; the drawing (unlocated) listed by Clément as no. 174, and others in Rouen, the collections of Pierre Dubaut (*Jupiter and Antiope*), Brame, and Claude Roger Marx. Very closely related to these are the drawing of a female nude in Rouen (cat. 1388) which bears on its back a study for the *Death of Hector* and thus helps to date the whole group; a male nude in the British Museum (inv. 1920-2-16-2); the *Prisoner in Chains* formerly in the Trévis collection (Clément, no. 167 bis); the *Scene of Execution* in Bayonne (inv. 224); the *Ugolino* in Bayonne (inv. 2056); the *Judith and Holofernes* in Bayonne (inv. 2060); the *Triumph of Galatea* in Bayonne (inv. 2043), and the *Sleeping Infant Hercules* in the Gobin collection (Paris).

27. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, inv. LB 2043; cf. R. Regamey, *Géricault*, Paris, Rieder & Cie., 1926, pl. 35. J. Knowlton, in his article, "Stylistic Origins of Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*," *Marsyas*, II, 1942, p. 129, correctly pointed out that Géricault used the pose of one of the *ignudi* above the Persian Sibyl in the Sistine Ceiling for the central figure in this composition, which otherwise seems mainly inspired by Raphael's *Galatea*.

These demonstrable borrowings alone do not, of course, justify the dating of this drawing in the period of Géricault's Italian stay. It may be noted that the early drawings in the Louvre sketchbook (1810-1811) already include a Michelangesque *ignudo* (fol. 19v), based, like the *Galatea*, on some engraving of the Sistine Ceiling.

28. The early part of the Chicago album includes fols. 34-61. In the Louvre sketchbook, the earliest drawings (ca. 1810-1811) occur on fols. 1-25.

29. More than thirty small compositional sketches in the Chicago album deal with the project of the *Cavalry Battle* (cf. fols. 34v, 40r, 41v, 46, 48r[?], 50, 53v, 55-56, 59-60). All of these belong to that portion of the album which can be dated about 1814. For this same project, there exist two larger, more elaborate drawings at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (inv. 2894) and at the Louvre (RF 834, mentioned by Clément, p. 334, no. 40), and a study for the fallen soldier, in the foreground, in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (inv. 2049; cf. the corresponding compositional design on fol. 56r of the Chicago album). The *Cavalry Battle* appears to have been Géricault's earliest sustained attempt at giving monumental form to a many-figured subject from modern life.

sier, which differs from the *Chasseur* of 1812 in its striking emphasis on sculptural modeling and its dense, somber color. An emphatic solidity once more replaces the spirited looseness of the brushwork, heavy contours again enclose every form. The weight of body and strength of line which distinguish the *Wounded Cuirassier* are equally apparent in the drawings of 1814-1816. Géricault's "sculptural" manner, after a period of submergence, now rises to the first position again, and with it revives his interest in traditional, classical themes. At this time, he projected such compositions as *Mars and Hercules in a Chariot*³⁰ and the *Battle of Gods and Giants*,³¹ for both of which sketches survive (Figs. 5 and 14). From this time, too, probably date several of the mythological compositions which are usually assigned to his year in Italy (1816-1817).³²

The "sculptural" manner, as it reappears in Géricault's work about 1814, has lost much of its former excessive heaviness of touch, its stiffness and clashing contrasts. The contours are beginning to flow with greater ease and assurance, the modeling is less laboriously contrived. This chastening of the earlier exuberance leads to the style commonly labeled Géricault's "Italian" manner. In the work of his Italian stay, in fact, this style achieves its full maturity, but it is not unimportant to bear in mind that no fresh acquaintance with ancient and Renaissance art was needed to inspire the "Italian" manner, which actually contains much that does not come from Italian sources at all.³³ Far

30. Drawings for the *Mars and Hercules* composition are in the Chevrier Marcille collection (cf. Clément, p. 345, no. 86), in the Lille Museum (inv. 1398; cf. Clément, p. 345, no. 87) and the Museum at Besançon (inv. D 2074 and D 2130). The project can be dated by means of a penciled reference to it which occurs in a list of ideas for compositions on fol. 41v of the Chicago album: *Mars et Hercule, montés sur leur char et roulant*. This list, in Géricault's handwriting, appears among drawings that are datable about 1814. A further entry on the same page refers to another project in a similar vein: "Xerxes, se promenant entre la mer et un bois, ses chevaux sont attaqués par des lions. Il se défend sur son char." No drawings related to this project are known.

31. Several sketches for this project are preserved or recorded. An oil sketch for it was formerly in the Dubaut collection; Clément (p. 299, no. 94) records another painted sketch. Drawings for the *Gigantomachy* are in the Museum of Rouen and the Dubaut collection. They are closely related in style to the drawings for the *Mars and Hercules* project and certainly belong, like it, to the period around 1814. Several sketches in the Chicago album (cf. fol. 44r) may also be for the *Gigantomachy*.

32. In attempting to fix the date of the emergence of the so-called "Italian" manner in Géricault's work, particularly in his mythological compositions, some note should be taken of his drawings after the sculptures in the Medici Chapel. According to Clément (*op.cit.*, p. 81), Géricault made these drawings on the spot, during his brief stay in Florence, in the autumn of 1816, while on his way to Rome. A number of these drawings are preserved at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (inv. nos. 42984-42988) and in other collections. Several of them show the sculptures in foreshortened view, i.e. as they would be seen by a visitor to the Chapel. It seems probable, therefore, that Géricault drew them after the originals, not after engravings. They thus can be assigned with great probability to the first weeks of his Italian stay, yet they already show the fully developed "Italian" manner. If it is assumed that Géricault turned to classical design and classical subject matter only in Italy, after a lengthy period of exclusive concern with modern themes, these drawings pose a very puzzling problem. Even granting the stirring impact of Michelangelo—such an abrupt emergence of the "new" style does not seem probable.

33. This view, though supported by abundant evidence, contradicts the often expressed notion that it was only in Italy, under the direct influence of classical and Renaissance art, that Géricault suddenly turned to subjects that were traditional, rather than of the present, and began to use classical figure types and compositional schemes. The advantage of this widely held opinion is that it makes for an easily explained, apparently

logical pattern of development. An able and systematic argument in favor of it is contained in J. Knowlton's article "The Stylistic Origins of Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*," *Marsyas*, 11, 1942, pp. 125ff. Knowlton concludes: "This then, at last, was what Italy gave to Géricault, that he learned to combine figures into groups and groups into a composition and so to refine that composition that it became the clearest and most direct statement of its theme" (p. 130). "There are preserved from the Italian period many drawings and one major painting with a great many sketches for the latter. Of great interest in these drawings is the new subject matter, antique mythology . . . though Géricault had made occasional copies and drawings in this line before going to Italy, mythological subjects had never claimed any real attention from him before . . ." (p. 128). There results from this conception of Géricault's Italian work a tendency to oversimplify his pre-Italian development and an even more dangerous lumping together of stylistically incompatible, though "classical" compositions in the Italian period. The confusion which has resulted from this schematic dating in the Italian period of all drawings of classical mythological content and "sculptural" style has greatly retarded a truer understanding of Géricault's actual development. Among the "classical" compositions assigned helter-skelter to the Italian period were drawings such as the *Galatea* in Bayonne, stiffly linear, angular in its contours, garishly colored, and the *Leda and the Swan* in the Louvre, of the most refined, almost Prud'hon-like chiaroscuro and incomparably light, swift, fluent design. Both drawings, to be sure, owe a debt to Michelangelo, and hence to Italy, but it is precisely this relationship which makes us aware of the obvious difference in style, a difference due to the fact that the *Galatea* dates from a much earlier period than the *Leda*. In a similar manner, the early erotic drawings, the *Satyrs Embracing Nymphs* and the like have been grouped with compositions such as the *Triumph of Silenus* in Orléans, despite equally great stylistical discrepancies. It was not in Italy that Géricault first learned "to combine figures into groups and groups into a composition," nor was classical mythology a new subject matter to him at that time. His training under the classicist Guérin had thoroughly introduced him to these disciplines and to these themes. The Louvre sketchbook and many drawings of undisputable early date document his youthful efforts in this field. The various mythological projects, such as the *Gigantomachy* and the *Mars and Hercules*, prove that the classical lesson continued to have its effect during the years of 1812-1816. The sources of Géricault's "classical" style lie in France rather than in Rome. At the height of his Italian phase, his work most clearly reflects the influence of French Baroque artists. Knowlton (*op.cit.*, p. 131) has pointed out the influence of Jouvenet

from being restricted to his year in Italy the new style—or, rather, the resumed “sculptural” manner—began to dominate Géricault’s work about 1814 and continued until the time of the *Medusa*. Within this second period of its ascendancy, it rapidly evolved from the ponderous bigness and overstatement still evident in some of the compositions around 1814 toward increasing precision and economy, from the heavy, tragic *Wounded Cuirassier* to the lithe athleticism of the Arcadian *Riderless Horse-Race*. Fully developed in the Italian works, it differed from its earlier manifestations in a lighter, more fluent calligraphy of line and a great refinement of tone. It can be both monumental and decorative, at times even playful. Despite frequent quotations from Michelangelo, the Italian compositions often suggest an almost Rococo transformation of Baroque models. They contain hints of Coustou, Clodion, and Prud’hon.

The rediscovered landscapes fit best into this general phase of Géricault’s stylistic development. It is not possible to accept Clément’s somewhat hesitantly advanced opinion that Géricault “perhaps” painted them before 1812.³⁴ This would make them the contemporaries of the early compositions in the “sculptural” style, such as the designs for the *Death of Hector*, the studies after ancient reliefs and the ponderously mannerist erotic groups. But the style of the landscapes, particularly in the treatment of the figures, does not resemble the work before 1812 closely enough to justify such an early dating. The bathers in the landscape with the aqueduct and the victims in the *Deluge* no longer have the monstrous proportions and the contorted postures that are so conspicuous in Géricault’s youthful “sculptural” manner, nor are they drawn with quite the same brutality of contour.

On the other hand, they do not yet attain the supple crispness of his Italian style; there still linger in them the traces of that harshness of contrasts and lumpiness of bulk which are found in the work of about 1814. Compared to the nervously rapid conduct of line that marks his Italian style, the contours here still seem rather heavy, halting and angular. Quite apart from their treatment of the figure, it is their total stylistic character which further relates these landscapes to works of the period just before the Italian journey. Their somber harmonies of greys, browns and blues, shot through with yellow or orange lights, their sharp silhouetting of dark shapes against the light, light shapes against the dark, their restless illumination, and the broad impasto of the heavily laden, dragging brush—all these are strongly reminiscent of the landscapes and skies in the *Wounded Cuirassier* and other military subjects of that period.³⁵

Thus if we relate the two large landscapes, the *Deluge*, and the associated drawings to the whole course of Géricault’s development from 1810 until 1818—or, rather, to that continuous trend in his work which we have labeled the “sculptural”—we find that they take their place most naturally in the years 1814-1816, the years just preceding the Italian trips. Géricault’s departure for Italy did not coincide with an abrupt break in style; his Italian phase, as has been suggested, was only part of a more extended period which had its beginnings about 1814 and extended until 1818. Something of the impetuous tenebrist impasto of the *Wounded Cuirassier* survived into the Italian work; it still lingered in the early studies for the *Riderless Horse-Race*, as can be seen in the paintings at Lille and Baltimore; and figures resembling the Michelangelo-inspired bathers of the landscape with the aqueduct can be still found in drawings that date from about 1817, such as the *Bull Tamer* (Fig. 12) and the *Drowned Man* (Fig. 13).³⁶ It would be foolhardy, considering the brevity of these time spans, to assert dogmatically that the pair of landscapes and the *Deluge* must date from 1814-1816 and cannot be as late as 1817-1818. But the stylistic evidence and the direction of Géricault’s development make it appear most probable that they were painted before his departure for Italy and, in fact, closer to 1814 than to 1816. This would revise Glément’s tentative dating by

on the *Butchers of Rome*. The central figure of the *Riderless Horse-Race* is a composite of Coustou’s two horse tamers of Marly.

34. Clément, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

35. Brushwork and color in the landscape background of

the *Wounded Cuirassier* particularly recall our two panels. Cf. also the *Artillery Train Passing a Ravine* in Munich (Clément, no. 49) and the *Mounted Hussar Trumpeter* formerly in the Defoer and Lutz collections (Clément, no. 61 bis).

36. See note 23 above.

several years, but would still agree with his categorical statement (quite likely based on an oral tradition) that they were executed "at any rate before the departure for Italy." It would also accord with the evidence, furnished by the fragments of the sketchbook in Chicago and the drawings in Bayonne (Figs. 7-8), that Géricault was occupied with decorative landscape projects at about that time.

In this light, the years from 1814-1816, until now an awkward gap in the chronology of Géricault's work, take on a new significance as a crucial period of change and preparation, leading directly to the monumental projects of his "classical" phase. The enormous skill and easy mastery that subsequently appeared in his Italian work were not the sudden acquisition of a few weeks of study in Florence or Rome: behind them lay the continuous development which we have traced, through the period of renewed "sculptural" style and classical subjects about 1814, until the very eve of the Italian journey. It is this continuity of effort and experience that made possible the full maturity of Géricault's Italian work. In the series of projects which mark this phase of preparation, our two landscapes, the *Deluge* and the related drawings take their place as documents of Géricault's return to traditional themes and a more severe style. Very significantly, the strengthening of the classical element in his work at this time was accompanied by an increase in expressive intensity. The *Wounded Cuirassier* and the monumental *Carabiniers* in the Louvre and at Rouen marked the appearance of a tragic, somber strain in Géricault's work about 1814. In the landscapes, the same depth of sentiment is expressed with a pathos borrowed from classical tradition: in attempting to give form to Romantic feeling, Géricault turns to the authority of Poussin.

III

That landscape painting should have flourished in France during 1795-1815, the years of neo-classicism's triumph, may seem paradoxical. The theorists of the time were unanimous in their contempt of landscape as an inferior branch of the arts, some even going so far as to question its right to exist: "c'est un genre qui ne devrait pas être," declared the anonymous author of a brochure on the Salon of 1796. Nevertheless, landscape painting continued in quantity; it is wrong to suppose that only the advent of Romanticism raised it from utter neglect and produced its revival about 1827. A "revival" was not necessary since the interest in landscape had never died. Examples of the neo-classical landscape are hard to find, to be sure, except in the provincial museums of France, and obscurity now shrouds the names of its once-famous exponents: Valenciennes, Bertin, Bidault, Grobon, Michallon. We have come to think of the art of the Empire rather too exclusively in terms of its epic compositions, the mythologies, the ancient and modern histories. The importance of Empire portraiture and genre is also recognized. But it is surprising to learn that no less than one fourth of the paintings exhibited at the Salons from 1791 until 1814 were landscapes.³⁷

Considering the discouragement which it received from teachers, critics and juries, this continuing popularity of landscape can only have been due to a strong popular demand. The new society of the Directory and Empire, no less than that of the *ancien régime*, appreciated the sentimental and decorative advantages of landscape. The opinions of art theorists had little effect on this deeply rooted taste. But while the demand for it continued strong, the level of quality declined. The French landscape painters listlessly imitated Poussin, Joseph Vernet, and the Flemings, or, even worse, sought to combine the best features of all schools, in accordance with Gessner's recipe, by borrowing style from Poussin, foliage from Waterloo, rocks and terrain from Berghem, and distances from Claude or Wouwerman.³⁸

Of the three main branches of landscape painting, namely the *paysage historique*, the *paysage*

37. F. Benoit, "Le paysage au temps de la Révolution et de l'Empire," *Histoire du paysage en France*, Paris, Renouard, 1908, p. 203.

38. Cf. "Brief über die Landschaftsmahlerey," in *Salomon Gessners Schriften*, Zurich, Orell, Gessner, Fuesslin & Cie., 1772, v, p. 243ff.

à effet and the *paysage portrait*, the one that harmonized with the prevailing aesthetic was the "historical landscape," i.e. the architectonically composed, "ideal" setting peopled by classical figures. The doctrine which sustained it had been propounded by Valenciennes, its chief theorist and most successful practitioner. A strenuous opponent of the "natural" landscape and evidently an enemy of nature itself, he remains memorable for having urged painters to "steep themselves in the works of the poets, especially Homer, Virgil, and Theocritus, and—to close their eyes."³⁹ What give the "historical landscapes" of the time their characteristic monotony is the unvarying arrangement of shapes, planes, and lines according to a careful "science," the relentless use of stock props, the love for glassy smoothness and for colors that run to strident blue, violet, and murky brown. The self-conscious purity of their style impresses us as arid, because it is too obviously never threatened by any freshness of temperament, let alone audacious crudity. This too constant high-mindedness—a tense discipline, without anything vital enough to deserve disciplining, and a virtue unopposed by vice—creates the noble tedium of the "historical landscape." The public soon tired of it, despite the critics' praise, and in time even the painters themselves seem to have succumbed to boredom. From 1800 onward, pure "historical landscapes" entered a noticeable decline.

At the other extreme, the "natural" landscape, or *paysage portrait* also had its devotees. Practiced particularly by certain provincial masters and nourished by surviving eighteenth century traditions, it received an additional stimulus from the re-emerging interest in Dutch and Flemish landscape painting. A sturdy realism has quite rightly become recognized as an ingredient in Davidian classicism. Truth to nature was not merely a slogan of the school, it corresponded to the innate bent of some of its best exponents, particularly of David himself. In the portrait painting of the time this aptitude for realism appears to best advantage. Directly in touch with visual reality, confronted by models utterly unlike the cameo profiles that had come to stand for beauty, classicist painters could momentarily escape the dead weight of their dogma and yet retain what was essentially sound in classicist practice: a clear design, a feeling for the quiet arrangement of large forms, a sense of dignity and sobriety. In their portraits, even painters of the second or third rank were saved from shapelessness and vulgarity by deeply ingrained habits of severe stylization. One might suppose that the opportunities offered by landscape painting, so similar in certain respects to those of the portrait, should have produced similar results. It is true that when classicist painters turned directly to nature, they sometimes revealed a surprising talent for realism in landscape. Nevertheless, compared to the portraits, the attempts at topographic realism produced within the confines of the neo-classical school strike us as timid and conventional. It may be that the landscape painters, in trying too strenuously to escape the odium of "mere imitation," applied classicist rules with exaggerated rigor. The very disciplines that proved a boon to the portrait became inhibitions when applied to landscape.

The public's preference at the time went to yet a third type of landscape painting, which differed from both the natural and the historical landscape, the so-called *paysage à effet*, the poetization of moods in nature: snow scenes, nocturnal conflagrations, stormy coasts, and moonlit forests. Perhaps the distinction between the *paysage historique* and the *paysage à effet* should not be drawn too sharply: classical ideality, as Valenciennes and his followers taught it, was, after all, just another "effect." The painters who, for reasons of principle or prestige, contrived Arcadian vistas in what they believed to be the manner of Poussin were often forced to produce *effets de lune* or thunderstorms to earn their daily bread.

Where, in this setting, do Géricault's landscapes find their place? In every formal respect, they belong to the category of the *paysage historique*; and no doubt Géricault intended them to follow the traditions of Claude, Poussin, and Dughet. But Géricault differs from the practitioners of the classical landscape of his time in interpreting these traditions with imaginative freedom. His attitude

39. Benoit, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

is the very opposite of the "science" of Valenciennes; it is personal and poetically selective, rather than systematic and slavishly submissive to established types. The *Deluge* provides a most instructive example of Géricault's daring in the transformation of a famous model. Free from the narrowing anxieties of professionalism, he approaches classical landscape as an inspired amateur, in the original meaning of that word, and handles its forms with a boldness that must have struck orthodox imitators as brutal or grotesque. We need only compare the two large landscapes or the *Deluge* with the tame conventionalities of the normal landscape of the Empire to realize their sharply exceptional character.

Nothing in these early works as yet points to Géricault's later realist landscape style, nothing in them is "natural," everything derives from painting, is man-made and artificial. But in their poignancy of feeling they anticipate the later works. The tragic emotion which fills the bleak *Lime Kiln* (about 1821-1822), and which overshadows the rain-soaked meadows of the *Epsom Downs Derby* (1821), already colors the early landscapes. They are, in fact, already Romantic, despite their classical ancestry, and they prove that for Géricault the road toward Romantic landscape painting led first to Claude, Poussin, and Dughet. Before discovering in a more direct approach to nature the profoundest expression of the feelings which moved him, he searched for it in the exalted pathos of classical art. The forms which he uses in the early landscapes are borrowed from tradition, but they repudiate, at the same time, the wise restraint and vacant grandeur of neo-classicism. Thus they illustrate what is the central meaning of his work up to the time of the *Medusa*—the struggle to make classical language express Romantic sentiment—and point to Géricault's peculiar position between two epochs.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BENJAMIN ROWLAND, *The Art and Architecture of India (The Pelican History of Art)*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1953. Pp. 308; 190 pls. \$8.50.

Dr. Benjamin Rowland is Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard University. His new book is the first volume to appear of the Pelican History of Art: a tremendous enterprise, which will run into forty-eight fine volumes, lavishly illustrated (in monochrome only, it seems, unless other volumes will be better equipped), well printed and attractively bound. To my knowledge it is the most extensive history of the world's art ever to be published, much larger than the richest comparable German publication; and the more the pity that Asia is, as always in these world art histories, represented only in a most stepmotherly manner. But that is not all. The volume under review contains not only the history of art in India, but also the art of no less than seven other countries, namely Nepal, Tibet, Ceylon, Cambodia, Siam, Burma, and Java—a truly enormous vista, of tens of thousands of miles, many thousands of years, and monuments running into, surely, a hundred thousand or more.

Whereas this non-Indian material is included, simply because there were some Indian influences on these countries (by the same token Roman art could be treated as a chapter in the volume on Greek art), Dr. Rowland, to the astonishment of all Indian reviewers, excludes from the history of Indian art and architecture the whole of Indian Islamic art; not one of the great monuments of, say, the Mughals, are included, not even those that contain three-quarters of Hindu-Jain elements and only one quarter of Islamic; indeed, according to this strange book, the whole history of Indian architecture suddenly stops with the arrival of Islamic influences. Neither is there a single word in this volume about the miniature painting of the courts at Agra, Delhi, and Lahore, the subordinate Muslim principalities of, say, Hyderabad, Deccan, or Bijapur.

Dr. Rowland is better and more reliable on sculpture and early architecture, which receive a far ampler and more adequate treatment than the later periods. Indeed, in many ways the first few chapters show that what he had studied most of all are the earliest monuments of the Buddhists, from the time of Asoka to the end of the Guptas. The author tries to explain Indian points of view by frequent references to the Indian theories of art contained in those ancient books on arts and crafts, the Sanskrit *silpa-sastras*. But this is a fatal mistake made by some European and American scholars. These books are all extremely late in date, and the great masterpieces of Indian art had been created long before theoreticians sat down to explain their "rules." Some temples may show these late influences, and yet an examination of these books will prove that the vast bulk of temples bears no resemblance at all to the punditic regulations laid down by the *silpa-sastra* writers in the cabined atmosphere of their study.

It is unkind perhaps to give a long list of actual howlers in Dr. Rowland's book. But it is the reviewer's duty to prove his contention that there are many mistakes in this work, and here are a few, selected at random.

We are told that Mathura is in the Punjab (p. 24).

On page 94 we learn, no doubt on the authority of some *silpa-sastra* (not quoted) that "the body of Buddha is like that of a lion, the legs are like those of a gazelle, and on the soles of his feet appear two shining wheels with a thousand spokes." All these details are cited by the author not as rank absurdities but as straightforward statements of fact, as if there were anywhere in the world a single image of the Buddha with the legs of a gazelle or with a wheel of a thousand spokes on his soles.

We would, perhaps not unreasonably, expect a writer on Indian art to be fairly well acquainted with the basic tenets of India's religions. Dr. Rowland repeats the frequently disproved statement that "Buddhism is essentially a pessimistic doctrine" (p. 31); and he refers to Maitreya as "included in primitive Buddhism." If the term primitive means the Buddhism preached by the Master and his immediate successors, the answer is that none of them have ever heard the very name of Maitreya.

On page 164 we read: "it must be remembered that every work of Indian architecture, Hindu, Buddhist, or Jain, must first and foremost be regarded from its metaphysical aspect, that is, a kind of magic replica of some unseen region or sacred being; and that it was precisely this metaphysical factor that determined the plan and elevation, rather than any aesthetic or functional consideration."

I declare that this is basically untrue, and that an art history proper cannot relegate functional and aesthetic considerations to second and third place. All the mystic explanations of a Gothic cathedral will not assist one iota in the appreciation of its artistic and functional place in the history of art. The Buddhist stupa is supposed by later writers to be either a replica of heaven or of the world "egg," or even to be the architectural frame symbolizing the body of the Buddha, says Professor Rowland. But ultimately, it is clear that the stupa is a functional building, developed out of a funereal mound into which the ashes of a holy man were deposited. Dr. Rowland himself admits this, for he says: "The completely undynamic character of stupa architecture is thoroughly expressive of its function of enclosing and guarding the relic. . . ." (p. 52) One would like to ask what mystic symbolism, what magic explanation or religious tenet can explain the vast formal differences between various stupas, from Amara-vati and Jaggayyapeta to the strange Tibetan ones, or from the Gandhara stupas to those of Central India?

If these symbolic, punditic explanations of the mystic meaning of all parts governed the architecture of the Hindu temple, how is it that, purely aesthetically speak-

ing, they vary so enormously, and that a temple of the Gupta times, such as the magnificent little shrine near the Sanchi stupa, differs more from a temple of Orissa in the eighth century than a Greek temple differs from a Gothic church? What explains the admirable invention of Buddhist railings and torans: functionally evolved railings, out of wooden structures, no doubt, but endowed in later days with a beauty and a decorative coat that no amount of silpa-sastrism can talk away. The task of an art historian is to lead his readers to Form, and to reveal to them the contents and the feelings behind that Form. For this purpose he has every right to make use of the texts at his disposal: but they should be handmaids, in the service of aesthetic judgments. Religious conceptions are not aesthetic judgments.

Dr. Rowland tells us on page 77 that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang "found that country in a ruinous, depopulated state, with most of the Buddhist establishments in a state of complete decay." But on page 91 he assures us that nothing of the kind had happened. Here we read: "There seems no reason to believe that the Buddhist establishments . . . came to an end. The testimony of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hsien and Hsuan Tsang, informs us that the monasteries continued to flourish for centuries after."

A similar contradiction is found in a paragraph on page 109. Describing a figure in Bamiyan, the author writes: "The completely Indian female figure . . ." and seven lines below he continues: "This style in Bamiyan cannot be described as purely Indian because . . ."

The oddest of these contradictions is on page 123, where Andhra art again appears as "purely" Indian; and this is contrasted with Kushan art (earlier described under Mathura as "completely" Indian): "A purely Indian tradition [i.e. in Andhra] appears to have been stronger and less affected by foreign influences than it was in the territories of the Kushans." (p. 123)

The last few quotations must have convinced the reader that Dr. Rowland never reread his manuscript carefully. What worries the reviewer most, however, is the ease with which such sweeping adjectives are used by an earnest scholar, e.g. "completely Indian," "completely undynamic," "literally scores of stupas" (what does this mean?), "a literally gigantic stone"; to the author every relationship is "close"; and we have on page 143 the unfortunate expression "enormously monumental."

Some of Dr. Rowland's statements are based on nothing but imagination. To say that "Sanskrit became the official language of the Gupta court" (p. 130) is to say that Sanskrit was not, previously, the language of courts; which is patently untrue. It had been so for a thousand years at least. And to speak of music at the Gupta court as if one knew anything about it, is objectionable. Nothing, not a single note of music survives from that period, or, for that matter, of the music of India a thousand years after the Guptas.

When we come to the author's aesthetic judgments,

we must, first of all protest against the misleading title of Part Two, "The Early Classical Periods." This includes the entire history of Indian art from the most archaic sculpture in the third century B.C. through the Mauryas, Sungas, and Andhras, up to the beginnings of the art of Gandhara and Mathura, which are treated in Chapter Three. If the earliest periods are called "early classical," I would like to know what would be properly called archaic? Why should we depart from the common nomenclature of art history, and give a misleading impression to the reader that these utterly archaic times, when frontality, symmetry, clumsy drawing, lack of verity, stiff immobility and lifelessness characterized India's archaic art (as elsewhere); why, I repeat, should we give the misleading impression that these partook somehow of the classical style? It is true that during a period of some four hundred years the archaic character gives way, slowly, to more skillful drawing and a more profound understanding of composition: but then this is precisely the same as in every archaic art, a growth towards that "conquest of realism" which becomes the inherited tool of the classical artist.

At the other end of the classical Gupta times, too, Dr. Rowland fights shy of employing the proper art historic terms. He refers, here and there, hesitatingly, to the "baroque character" of some piece of sculpture or architecture; but he does not call the period by its proper name, viz. Baroque Period. On page 163 he excuses himself, allowing that this "is much more appropriate" a term; but the chapters dealing with Gupta art are not termed "classical," and the art in the eighth and subsequent centuries are not called "baroque" by the author.

The result of this thinking is marked in many an aesthetic judgment. Talking of Cave XIX at Ajanta, Dr. Rowland correctly observes how richly carved this "cathedral" is. "The enormous elaboration of the stupa, as well as the decoration of the nave, is the direct result of the development of Mahayana Buddhism, with its emphasis on the anthropomorphic nature of the Buddha; the multiple Buddha images are undoubtedly symbolical of the myriad Buddhas of the Quarters mentioned in the *Saddharma Pundarika*, just as the stupa itself is reminiscent of the fantastic miraculous structures described in the pages of this sutra." (p. 131)

Now the point about this interesting connection is that one cannot derive the style of the temple from the literary style of the age and all its beliefs, and maintain that one is the "direct result" of the other. Had the author faced the fact that we have to deal with a baroque period, it would have been instantly clear that both the literary richness, overelaboration, exaggeration and wild, surprising fantasy, and the architectural richness, overelaboration, exaggeration and wild, surprising fantasy spring from the same source: the baroque love of the romantic, the novel, the overdrawn, the exaggerated, overdecorated in every aspect of life.

It seems to me that the author was greatly handicapped in his work by a lack of fresh and frequent

contact with India. That he himself feels this occasionally, is revealed by the fact that he finds himself unable to date Gandhara art, or to recognize its real character and development—though he devotes far more space to it than the proportions of the book demanded. He says on page 78: "The art of Gandhara is not in any way a continuation of this indigenous tradition (viz. of Maurya, Sunga and Andhra art)." Yet, on the next page, we read: "Like all Gandhara primitives, its [Kanishka's relic casket] style is a mixture of archaic formulae of the early Indian school combined with iconographical borrowings from the West. . . ."

Dr. Rowland then proceeds to restate the old belief that the best specimens of Graeco-Roman-Gandharan art are those most thoroughly influenced by Hellenistic elements, and the moment Indianization takes place, the art becomes less good: an outstanding example of how even such a great scholar as Dr. Foucher was swayed by racial and geographical prejudices ("all that is near to the Greek is good—all that departs from this our ideal is bad"). But Dr. Foucher learned his Gandhara in the last years of the last century and the beginnings of this one, fifty years ago. Dr. Rowland, writing in 1953, might have taken notice of recent writings in which the exact opposite is propounded: that Gandharan art, as all regional art, partook of the general development of Indian art from archaic times, and the best specimens are those that correspond to the Gupta period; those romantic and baroque stuccos of the fifth to seventh centuries that are no longer classical in feeling, but correspond perfectly in stylistic background to the contemporary baroque everywhere else in India, late Ajanta, Nalanda, etc.

It remains to praise Dr. Rowland's choice of illustrations, which, on the whole, are excellent though somewhat orthodox. There are a few oddities, such as figures 20 and 21 which are two prints of exactly the same gateway from the same angle, and some temples so similar that two or more pictures were hardly needed (plate 103).

But I have left my greatest grievance to the end. Dr. Rowland's large tome dismisses the entire history of painting in this great country from the seventh century A.D. to the nineteenth—a period of twelve hundred years—in six and a half pages.

What one regrets most of all is that so fine an opportunity will not readily come again to incorporate an adequate treatment of Indian art into the history of the world's art.

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H. W. JANSON, *Apes and Ape Lore, in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, Edited by H. Frankfort, Vol. 20), London, 1952. 384 pp., 30 figs. in text, 151 figs. on LVI plates. £3 3s.

Be it in the Garden of Eden or the Garden of Love, in the Country of the Houyhnhnms or Sierra Leone, Janson has left no tree unshaken in his prodigiously energetic quest of simian quarry. Zoological iconography could scarcely offer more tempting game nor yet more complex sport. If nothing else, the sheer quantity of these entrancing beasts, available through image and word, would have caused any less intrepid soul to quail before the task of organizing and presenting this subject. Even the author "flinches" on occasion, finding the material on apes in Gothic marginal art "so vast that he can never hope to encompass more than a fraction" of it. His book of about four hundred pages does not seek to be "a complete Pithecopaedia," for Janson proposes to give "no more than a conspectus of the more important traditions." In that purpose he succeeds admirably, exploring the broadest possibilities of iconographic method to make a volume which is as much *philosophie zoologique* as *zoologie iconographique*, earning him the first of the newly authorized awards in Art Historical Scholarship to be presented by the College Art Association of America. This is a signal honor since only one book is to be selected for each calendar year. The concentrated information in the text, thorough notes and index, copious and exotic illustrations, all make this a treasury, indispensable to anyone concerned with ape lore in arts or letters. Two portions of the book will be already familiar to scholars, especially to the iconography-minded *animaliers* (as Heckscher has dubbed them in *Renaissance News*, v, p. 12). Janson's paper on *Ars Simia Naturae* was read, in part, at a meeting of the College Art Association a few years ago. His excellent and conclusive interpretation of Titian's *Laocoon Caricature* is reprinted, in an Appendix, almost without change from the article published in *THE ART BULLETIN* for 1946. While he makes gracious acknowledgment of "a considerable share of credit" to W. C. McDermott's monograph on the ape in antiquity, Janson's interpretive structure and new material make for a fundamentally independent and original contribution. (Incidentally, there are amendments and corrections to McDermott, including a refutation of his argument, from the textual evidence, that the anthropoid apes were known to classical antiquity.)

The subtitle, "In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," announces the scope in time which this volume more than amply spans, extending well beyond these limits in both directions. On the one hand, discussion of the classical background provides orientation and setting, affording a necessary basis for critical contrasts in the demonstration of fundamental mediaeval developments; on the other, certain selected lines, both of survival and change, are traced far into the nineteenth century. Any study of a single iconographic motif must proceed subject to the risks peculiar to "the trade." Almost inevitably, the student finds himself treading lonely ways, obliged to cut new paths and to linger in odd places on the periphery of the history of art—not to mention the marginalia of the works themselves. The ape, of course, enjoys exceptional privilege

in this general situation by virtue of natural proximity to the sapient order. It is remarkable to observe, as we may from this book, how often the artist asserts this prerogative for the mischievous animal, assigning him to status matching that of man. Evidently this is true of Late Gothic graphic art in Northern Europe, but it is also apparent in single works of such major masters as Titian (*Laocoon Caricature*), Michelangelo (*Slaves*), Dürer (*Monkey Dance*), Breughel (*Two Monkeys*), and many later artists as well. Altogether the bewildering diversity of contexts in which the ubiquitous ape disports himself would make for an iconographic kaleidoscope. But Janson shepherds them with a sure hand and discovers for them classifications according to systematic "species of meaning" which will form the basis for any future discussion of the genus.

This wide-ranging canvas is held together, in one sense, by the author's sustained enthusiasm and complete absorption in every single facet of his task but also, fully as much, by its variegated "texture." Something of this latter quality may be intimated from a glance at the first and last sentences in the book. Janson employs as the opening foil, Disraeli's question *à propos* of the Darwinian controversy: "The question is this: is man an ape or an angel?" In a closing epilogue of partial recapitulation, he tells how "Kafka's gloomy vision restores the ape to his old symbolic role of *imago hominis*, posing the eternal dilemma of man's fate." Perhaps such indications as these would alone serve to suggest why the omission of the word "Art" from the title could not have been otherwise. Indeed, to answer Disraeli's question in all of its implications, Janson finds he must "explore the realm of pre- and extra-scientific opinion concerning the ape throughout the history of Western civilization." He tracks his theme inexorably wherever significant data, clues or tantalizing puzzles may lead. Whether in folklore, literature, and art, or *within* the history of science, zoology or anthropology, each area is searched with persuasive assurance. It is by design, then, that several chapters claim little, if any, direct connection with the history of art in a superficial sense. Yet, among these, the third chapter, "*Similitudo hominis*, the Ape in Mediaeval Science," is one of the finest, perhaps most important, in the book.

Unity is effected not only by qualitative means but also through alertness to the requirements of coherence and order. Janson gives measured, repeated, and varied accent to selected themes, so that clearly intelligible ideas might contain the potential diffuseness inherent in this material. In effect, practically each chapter announces a new theme which is defined, demonstrated, and elaborated with supporting textual and pictorial evidence. Each is, further, embroidered with anecdote, lore, and color but at the same time replete with individual discoveries and a miscellany of iconographic solutions unraveled *en passant*. One can only hint at such rich content by citing the chapter headings; I *Figura Diaboli*: The Ape in Early Christianity, II The Ape as the Sinner, III *Similitudo Hominis*: The

Ape in Mediaeval Science, IV The Ape and the Fall of Man, V The Fettered Ape, VI The Ape in Gothic Marginal Art, VII Apes, Folly, and *Vanitas*, VIII Apes, the Senses, and the Humours, IX The Sexuality of Apes, X *Ars Simia Naturae*, XI The Coming of the Anthropoids, followed by the Appendix on Titian's *Laocoon Caricature* and the Vesalian-Galenist Controversy.

For the Christian Middle Ages the ape emerges in the role of devil and sinner, charged in the imagery with preponderantly negative significance, expressive of sins, vice, folly, and reprehensible aspects of the flesh. As for the fantastic array of capricious simians in the margins of the Gothic manuscripts, they manifest a complex sphere in which "search for hidden meanings, symbolic, didactic, or satirical . . . would obviously be futile." Recognizing, at the same time, that some may signify no more than anecdote or incidental descriptive accessory, Janson subdivides the specimens in this "fairy realm" into simple and practical categories; one, showing performances by trained apes, another in which fables and anecdotes involving apes may be seen, a third for apes capering with birds, and finally, for apes burlesquing man in a *monde renversé*. At a far remove from either allegory or fancy is the use of a self-sufficient ape-image to signify the sense of taste in a series of "animal-signs" denoting the five senses. In connection with the humors, Janson settles the problem of a hitherto unexplained concordance of four animals and the four temperaments, in which the ape accompanies the Sanguine person. Not only does he discover the more immediate sources for the fifteenth century formula in the *Gesta Romanorum* but this, in turn, is carried back to its origins in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic lore and legend.

The aspect of the ape in the Italian Renaissance, singled out for scrutiny, neither continues that of the mediaeval scapegoat, nor does it restore the tradition of classical antiquity. Classical literary allusions introduce the ape in derogatory epithets for ugly, vile, and inept artistic expression. To the contrary is the Renaissance intention of *Ars Simia Naturae*. From Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum* to Lomazzo's *Trattato*, Janson finds a noble line of simian triumph in which the ape, as "one who strives to come as close as possible to a great idea, be it aesthetic or moral," marches hand in hand with the artist. The hitherto stigmatized beast attains something of an apotheosis in Michelangelo's *Dying Slave* and *Rebellious Slave*—close indeed to a "great idea." Janson re-states at length his case for the "Slaves" as personifications of the Arts (Painting and Sculpture, respectively) in one of the stages of the Tomb project. The argument has, *au fond*, no less precedent than the testimony of Condivi; in this specific application the key lies in the unfinished apes as the determining attributes. The appeal of Panofsky's Neoplatonic interpretation of these "Slaves" also attracts Janson so that he dauntlessly proposes a reconciliation between essentially conflicting positions by limiting the "Slaves" to a single phase in the history of the Tomb.

Titian's *Caricature* belongs to this Renaissance his-

tory in point of time although its theme pertains explicitly to the anatomical controversies between the Galenist and the Vesalian adherents. Janson's virtuoso scalpel dissects the problem with mastery and delight, proving the illustration to be a clever satire of Galenist-isolationists of the day.

Despite advanced descriptive anatomical knowledge of the ape, ancient science "made no attempt to explain the relationship of ape and man" in what we would call the evolutionary or behavioral aspects (anthropology and psychology). It may surprise the reader—accustomed to conventional derogation of mediaeval science—that it was during the "Dark Ages" that ground was broken in just these areas of our more modern science. In showing this, Janson makes one of his most important contributions. "The Ape in Mediaeval Science" shows us this obverse of mediaeval ape-coinage whereas, hitherto, only the quite obviously dark and sinful reverse had been noticed. From the time of Saint Augustine, at least, Reason ("a gift of God that sets us apart from the rest of the animal world") became the clue which led to rudimentary behaviorist psychology and "the mediaeval equivalent of modern comparative psychology." The twelfth century advances were climaxed by the thirteenth century encyclopaedists among whom Albertus Magnus stands at the peak. "His feat in relating the disconnected data of Aristotelian comparative anatomy and the equally disconnected data on human and animal psychology available to the Middle Ages so that they formed a rational and coherent whole, represents an achievement of prime importance for the development of scientific thought, whatever the deficiencies of his system in detail." (p. 85) To the classic colloquial challenge of relevance "So what?" two important points are worth stating. For one thing there is the fact that perceptive tracking of an iconographic motif can—and here, does—discover and corroborate significant insights for the history of ideas. For another, the phenomenon is not entirely unrelated to the history of art. Koehler has noted the concomitant effects of renewed interest in psychology, during the twelfth century, upon nascent physiognomic animation of the heads in Chartres West (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers* I, 1941; cf. Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, 1951, p. 6).

Repeatedly Janson reminds the reader not to expect neat distinctions between the indicated iconographic categories. Nor must each example provide a "pure" instance of its kind since there may be thematic intermingling within any single work as well as interaction between types. Thus, in the case of Romanesque art, we are cautioned that "any attempt at a strict separation of levels of meaning would be both fruitless and misleading." Janson takes care of this problem by interlocking the content of his chapters in the body of the text and also through conscientious cross-references. In this respect the footnotes serve an essential auxiliary purpose by helping to keep clear the threads of more intricate weaving in this complex fabric.

No one expects the title of a book to convey all the essential shades of qualification which go to describe

the content properly—although some seventeenth century title pages are charmingly scrupulous of this ambition. Much less is this to be expected of chapter headings. On occasion, however, Janson's running titles seem to exert undue magnetic force at the expense of his own expressed cautions concerning the multi-directional charges of the examples within the chapter. The first chapter may serve to illustrate a case in point. His thesis here is that the doctrine of ape-as-devil-image "may be regarded as the 'official' Christian view of the ape from the collapse of the Roman Empire until the Gothic era." This reader, at least, gets the feeling that the *figura-diaboli* (the chapter title), assumes the suspicious aspect of a trap into which, step by step, iconographically hesitant apes are led. This is not a matter of error but of insistence upon a too-restricted label which creates avoidable difficulties. Janson does not slur over the problem but, on the contrary, states clearly some of the unusual things about the *figura diaboli*: "Curiously enough, however, despite its wide diffusion it seems to have had only a very limited effect upon the popular conception of the animal (or of the devil, for that matter)." References in mediaeval literature are admittedly few, and, "in most of these instances the demon also assumes the shape of other animals, such as dogs, cats and he-goats. Even more striking is the scarcity of visual examples showing the devil in simian disguise." As for specific instances of the ape as *figura-diaboli* equation there appears to be only one unequivocal instance and that, "iconographically isolated" (the winged ape-devil in one tympanum of the *Platerias* Portal at Santiago de Compostela). The closest textual source (the *Physiologus*, *versio* Y) "brackets the ape with the wild ass and asserts that both represent the devil." Otherwise, neither texts nor illustrations are sufficiently decisive to justify the sharp focus upon an ape-devil denominator for all the examples.

There is no question but that the material of this chapter does "hang together" but its common property must be broader than the devil alone. More suitable might be such a category as Ape-and-the-False-Gods—or, Idolatry-Simiolatry—a theme which the author himself reiterates (although only as a subordinate ingredient of the discussion). Under this heading, the extremely rare simian-devil would be reasonably subsumed and so also would the doubtful and non-diabolical examples. Even more adequately than the devil, this interpretation would also serve well the historical situation in Early Christianity, preoccupied as it was with paganism and heresy. Most of Janson's examples are identified by him as clearly indicative of "heathen locale," "Egyptian simiolatry," and the "false gods." For instance, the ape cited in the Barberini Psalter is rightly linked with the words in the Psalm which speak of God who "judgeth among the gods." Janson goes on to say that this ape "may at the same time have been intended to represent the devil (who after all, was a false god too . . .)." (p. 21) This ape shows none of the devil's attributes either, but still the line of reasoning is admissible. However, as we proceed, the labels get switched so that on page 45 the animal is referred

to as "the *figura diaboli* of the Barberini Psalter." For the chapter as a whole, it is this largely derivative sense which is given exclusive dominance, subsequently becoming "the demonological concept of the *imago diaboli*, characteristic of the Early Middle Ages. . . ." (p. 199)

Janson's discussion of the Pedlar and the Apes takes its starting point in an amusing series of fourteenth century marginal miniatures in the British Museum. To his detailed interpretation one may add that these must also reflect an important new factor of secular life. The fourteenth century saw the emergence of the "traveling salesman" into prominence which is preserved in modern humor and satire. He survived by his wits and took an unflattering reputation in his stride. But there was special satisfaction for the public when the joke was at the expense of the pedlar. They could enjoy this along with the more subtle moral elements and inversions which Janson has so well interpreted for us. This general theme and its contemporary documentation in history, letters, and law has been treated by J. J. Jusserand, and one scene from the same British Museum manuscript illustrated in the most recent editions of the old *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (XIVth century)*, (new and rev. ed.), New York, 1930.

To carp at such small matters would seem as ungracious and ungrateful as to sniff at a spotty apple in the cornucopia. Luckily most of us do not take amiss these—by now, conventional—forms of not-intentionally-offensive musings. After all, Janson's simian *speculum hominis* already occupies a secure place on the art historian's bookshelf.

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GEORGE KAFTAL, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, Sansoni, 1952. Pp. 687; 1193
ills. 50,000 lire.

This is the first of a three-volume dictionary that Mr. Kaftal proposes to devote to the saints that are represented in Italian painting of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. This initial volume, a huge tome in itself, deals in an exemplary way with some three hundred saints of this period.

In a field not particularly rich in scholarly publications the best existing dictionary has probably been Künstle's *Ikongraphie der Heiligen*. Künstle's scope is the whole of Christian art, but the content of his entries is random, poorly documented, and vitiated by supererogatory aesthetic and religious intentions. Within a far more restricted field Kaftal is thorough, systematic, and scholarly. His dictionary is clearly destined to become the Webster of Italian hagiology.

Mr. Kaftal has, it is true, attained so exceptional a thoroughness and reliability in his chosen field only at some sacrifice. Though the reviewer understands the practical reasons for limiting the field to panel and fresco painting, he cannot avoid regretting the ex-

clusion of sculpture and, even more, illumination, which is especially rich in the representation of saints. On the other hand Mr. Kaftal is certainly justified in undertaking a dictionary rather than an iconographic index of Tuscan painting for this, which, however useful, has already been partly accomplished by Van Marle and would be, in any event, beyond the patience if not the capacity of any single scholar. Thus Mr. Kaftal's book does not tell us, as the Princeton Index does where it is most nearly complete, of the frequency of representation. In the case of *St. Peter healing by his shadow* he has listed two representations, which amount to one hundred per cent, so far as I know, of the surviving examples of this theme in Tuscany, whereas of the cult image of St. Peter he has listed fifteen examples, which cannot be more than one per cent of the surviving examples. But if he does not consistently attempt to answer the questions "when" and "how many," he is admirably sound and comprehensive in telling us "what," "how," and also "why" with regard to the written sources upon which the representations depend. He is scrupulous about classifying stylistically and dating his objects, and he has had the very great advantage, in the instance of unpublished paintings, of verbal attributions by Richard Offner, who also wrote the preface.

Mr. Kaftal has made his extensive compilation an effective instrument of research by adding an appendix containing a hagiological calendar, and an excellent series of indices. The most valuable of these is undoubtedly the index of attributes, which snares equally the broadest and most minute aspect of the representation. Here there are entries such as "Rain, see also Hail"; "Rats: Fina Virgin. . . ."; and "Roasted: Sts. Christina, Eustace, Lawrence, Minias."

For each of the saints the book offers, in successive paragraphs, a brief biography, a description of the appearance of the saint, his attributes, and the inscriptions written on his book or scroll. Then follows a list of cult images which apparently demonstrates the varied forms assumed by the representations of the saint—though the reasons for the choice of examples are actually nowhere made clear. Following the cult images there is a list of representative cycles of the saint's legend, and then the single episodes from his life. In some instances there are, in addition, "post-humorous episodes" and "allegorical episodes." After all of this comes a series of references to reproductions of the cult images, the cycles, and the single scenes, and the whole ends with the literary sources of the scenes and a hagiographical bibliography. The task of rendering easily accessible to the scholar such varied yet interconnected data is a formidable one. Neither the reviewer nor his students who have consulted the book believe that in this respect Mr. Kaftal has been wholly successful. Perhaps he was wise to establish the dozen or more categories mentioned above, and to separate the reference to the reproduction of a work of art from the listing of the object itself, but certainly then a better pattern of symbols might have been devised to facilitate cross-references. Why not, for instance,

such mnemonic signs as I for Images, C for Cycles, S for Scenes, and so on, instead of the present series of lower case letters, capitals, Arabic numerals, Roman numerals, Arabic numerals primed, etc., which bear no relation to the content? Mr. Kaftal's system is elaborate and abstract, and, like an IBM machine, it is easily operated only by a trained specialist. Probably Mr. Kaftal will wish to preserve uniformity in the subsequent volumes. But if he should consider it desirable to simplify his system in one way or another, the many consultants that his highly useful dictionary is bound to have will certainly feel even more in his debt.

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ROGER HINKS, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio: His Life—His Legend—His Works*, New York, The Beechhurst Press, 1953. Pp. 126; 96 pls. \$8.50.

In British periodicals this book has been characterized not only as the first book on Caravaggio in English but as the best book on the master published so far. With some reservations, I think I can agree with this judgment. The two books of Roberto Longhi and Lionello Venturi (reviewed in these columns, December 1953) were essentially little more than a rehash of older views formulated before the exhibition of Caravaggio's work in Milan in 1951. Roger Hinks, in contrast, has made a fresh start, fully utilizing the experience gained at this exhibition and, even more important, the investigations and discoveries made since then.

These merits are particularly evident in the catalogue raisonné of Caravaggio's works, which is composed with great precision and goes far beyond Venturi's catalogue (though the latter scholar, too, has tried to revise the chronology on the basis of recent publications). Only those who know how much painstaking labor such a catalogue demands can fully appreciate this demonstration of patient and careful workmanship. This is not to say that I always agree with Mr. Hinks's sequence of Caravaggio's paintings or with the dating of the individual works, which on the whole (though with many deviations) follows the chronology constructed by Denis Mahon in his various articles in the *Burlington Magazine*. Without going into too great detail, I should like to comment on some of the paintings, following the numerical sequence of Mr. Hinks's catalogue.

No. 2. *Boy with Fruit* ("Bacchino Malato"). After some hesitation, I have come to accept this attribution. I also agree with Denis Mahon's proposal that the Borghese painting is the one mentioned by Baglione as the first of the paintings made from reflections in a mirror. But I refuse to enter the realm of mirror-symbolism, a notion which Longhi had introduced and which Mr. Hinks here elaborates.

No. 4. *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*. Mr. Hinks, like Denis Mahon, accepts as original only the specimen in

the possession of Roberto Longhi, and believes that the painting of the same subject formerly in the Harcourt Collection and now owned by Vincent Korda, is a faithful and intelligent copy. However, Lionello Venturi (*Commentari*, July-September, 1952) maintains just the opposite viewpoint!

No. 5. *St. Francis in Ecstasy*. The Abbot Tritonio had not "acquired" this painting, nor had he been "persuaded to buy it," as Mr. Hinks claims (p. 21). It was given to him as a "token of mutual friendship" by the noble Ottavio Costa of Genoa. That Costa was an art-dealer, as Mr. Hinks assumes, is only an old suspicion. We only know that Costa (Baglione also speaks of "li Costi"—perhaps brothers?) had bought three paintings of Caravaggio.

No. 6. *Una Musica*. Here (and in the text, pp. 44ff.) Mr. Hinks forgets to mention the wing above the shoulder of the unmusical boy on the left (in the underpainting). Perhaps here is the key to an interpretation of the composition, in which, according to Mr. Hinks, "nothing makes sense."

Nos. 8, 9, 10. *The Fortune-Teller* ("La Zingara"), *The Repentant Magdalene*; *The Rest on the Flight to Egypt*. I do not think that one can securely date these three paintings from the circumstance that they were made, according to Mancini, in a room in the Roman palazzo of Mgr. Fantin Petrucci. Mr. Hinks dates them definitely in 1595 or shortly afterwards, only because this high ecclesiastic dignitary returned to Rome about 1594 (as Jakob Hess has pointed out in the *Burlington Magazine*, June, 1951). Mancini, however, says only that the Monsignor gave Caravaggio a room in his Roman palazzo. Unlike the Cardinal del Monte, who took Caravaggio into his "famiglia" and ordered paintings from him, Petrucci, it seems, had no further relations with Caravaggio, either personal or artistic. Thus the young artist could very well have had permission to use a room in the Palazzo of Petrucci even in the absence of the owner, i.e. before 1594-1595. The paintings mentioned by Mancini might therefore have been done either before or after these years; there is no certainty.

No. 18. *Martha Reproving Mary*. This interesting composition is found in many versions and surely has some affinities with Caravaggio's paintings of the type of the St. Catherine and the Judith. Yet since we know the composition only in copies, and since it is nowhere mentioned in the sources, how can we be certain that the original was not the work of some Caravaggist like Gentileschi (or Vouet, as Voss has suggested)? The round mirror surely has nothing to do with the mirror mentioned by Baglione.

Nos. 21, 28. *The Supper at Emmaus*; *The Call to St. Peter and St. Andrew*. *The Supper at Emmaus* in London cannot possibly be the painting which Baglione mentions as being in the house of Ciriaco Mattei and which he describes as "Our Lord walking to Emmaus," an expression which is, of course, never used for the Supper, the "Cena in Emaus," but reserved for the "Walk to Emmaus." Mr. Hinks expressly says in the text (p. 16) that Caravaggio found time in the

Sabine mountains to paint a "Christ on the Road to Emmaus," but in the corresponding note he refers to a *Supper at Emmaus* (no. 53) from the Casa Patrizi (now in the Brera). At least it would be desirable to know if this is an iconographical error on the part of Caravaggio's biographers. A composition by Caravaggio representing Christ going to Emmaus with two disciples must have existed, and I maintain, other opinions to the contrary, that in the painting at Hampton Court we have at least a shadow of an original composition representing this subject. I can hardly understand how Longhi could misinterpret the composition as a Calling of St. Peter and St. Andrew, an error which Mr. Hinks, to my regret, repeats (no. 28). Undoubtedly Christ is demonstrating here, with the gestures of his fingers, the word of the Bible, "Oh ye fools and slow of heart . . ." (Luke 14:25-27).

No. 23. *The Sacrifice of Isaac*. This painting came to the Uffizi only in 1907, a gift of Mr. Fairfax Murray, and it is by no means sure that Mr. Murray had bought it from the Galleria Sciarra. That the painting in its present form is in all parts by the hand of Caravaggio seems somewhat doubtful.

No. 24. *Narcissus*. See my remarks in ART BULLETIN, XXXV, 1953, p. 316.

No. 25. *David and Goliath*. In my opinion, this is not by Caravaggio.

No. 26. *Judith Beheading Holofernes*. According to Baglione, this was made for "li Costi" (cf. No. 5, above), but we know nothing about Caravaggio's asking the Costi to sell the painting and to send it to Naples (as Mr. Hinks presumes). Nor do we know the people in Naples who offered to sell this painting—if it is the same—(and the *Madonna del Rosario*) to Pourbus.

No. 27. *The Road to Calvary*. There is little of Caravaggio in this painting.

Nos. 31, 32. *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew*; *St. Matthew and the Angel*. For a later dating of the completion of these works, see the interesting carpenter's reports published by Jacques Bousquet (*Revue des Arts*, June, 1953), cited by Denis Mahon (*Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, VII, no. 3-4, p. 206).

Nos. 38, 39. *St. Francis in Prayer*; *The Flagellation of Christ*. Neither of these attributions seems valid to me.

No. 40. *The Crowning with Thorns*. Whether this is a copy after a lost Caravaggio or, what to me seems more probable, an original by a close imitator (Carracciolo?) is still questionable.

No. 45. *The Holy Family with St. John*. This exists in several copies. The Berlin version, despite its good provenance from the Giustiniani collection, seems too weak for Caravaggio.

No. 46. *The "Madonna del Rosario"*. See my remarks in ART BULLETIN, XXXV, 1953, p. 318. I am glad that this painting has finally found its right place

among the late Roman altarpieces, and I also agree that it was made for a Modenese Dominican church (though never delivered because unfinished).

No. 52. *The Mount of Olives*. Again, while this is from the Giustiniani collection, I find the attribution incorrect.

No. 53. *The Supper at Emmaus*. Probably not the painting made in the Sabines. See above, No. 21.

No. 56. *St. Francis Meditating*. An impressive painting, but not necessarily by Caravaggio, or even a copy after him.

No. 58. *The Seven Works of Mercy*. The strange man who pours wine into his mouth from a jawbone I have always considered to be Samson.

No. 66. *The Crowning with Thorns*. This seems dubious.

On the whole, the above criticisms are minor and are not intended to question the value of Mr. Hinks's catalogue, which, in my opinion, is diminished only by the insertion of spurious attributions, almost all of them originating with Longhi. Between the alternatives of the restrictionist and the expansionist method, the latter is considerably more dangerous for the over-all conception of an artist, whereas the former, while it may omit a few authentic works, at least presents a better-focused picture of the artist's essential achievement. The addition of paintings not mentioned in the sources is not so harmful in the catalogue, but it does confuse the sequence of plates and, still more, the development presented in the text. For instance, Mr. Hinks states that Caravaggio, in his middle period, had a decidedly "morbid" interest in the Passion of Christ, so much so that he was even haunted by these cruel scenes (p. 73). But on examining this claim more closely, one realizes that between the Vatican *Deposition* (ca. 1601) and the Naples *Flagellation* (ca. 1607), there are no paintings representing these "morbid" subjects, and Mr. Hinks's thesis has to be substantiated by such questionable attributions as the *Macerata Flagellation* or the *Vienna Crowning with Thorns*. And even then, one can hardly speak of Caravaggio's being haunted by the few images of the Passion which he may have produced.

Mr. Hinks's text is divided into three parts—the narration of Caravaggio's life; the Caravaggio legend; and finally, an analysis of the works. The first part is lively and interestingly written, giving a succinct survey of the master's life based on the literary sources. The second part tries to explain the evaluation of Caravaggio by his contemporaries, and attempts to show the meaning of such critical clichés as *decorum*, *invenzione*, and *disegno*, terms which were used mostly by the classicistic art critics to attack the workmanship and ideas of Caravaggio, and which are, by and large, the basis of the one-sided reputation which has clung to Caravaggio's name through the centuries.¹ Certainly such interpretations of critical terms as Mr. Hinks

"Arte senz'arte, ingegno senz'ingegno," is very close to Bellori, who writes at the beginning of his life of Caravaggio, "pare che senz'arte emulasse l'arte."

1. I was interested to read here some extracts from Federigo Zuccari's poem, *The Lament of Painting on the Venetian Waves* (a pamphlet of 1605 which I was unable to consult, no copy being available in this country), because one phrase,

offers here are of great value for the understanding of what is called the legend of the artist; although admittedly they are more interesting for the reputation of Caravaggio than for an understanding of his artistic essence. We must not forget that between 1590 and 1640 art criticism was in a most laudable state of decay.

It is a pity that Mr. Hinks could not take into consideration the excellent little article of Stella Mary Pearce on costume in Caravaggio's paintings (*Magazine of Art*, April, 1953). Had he done so, he might have been a little more cautious with his costume-theory. His argument is that the colorful, fantastic clothes in some of Caravaggio's paintings (for example, those of the young dandies in the *Calling of St. Matthew*) are a kind of "romantic travesty" of the costumes found in the paintings of Giorgione and his time, and that they are therefore utterly unrealistic. At first glance, this theory seems quite attractive; unfortunately, the facts speak against it. These romanticizing costumes were not uncommon in Caravaggio's day, as Miss Pearce shows clearly enough in many examples from such costume books as Cesare Vecellio's *Of Clothes Ancient and Modern*, 1590.² Of course, one does not find them in Ottavio Leoni's portraits of respected painters, which Mr. Hinks cites as examples of the costume of the time. They were donned—and surely with pleasure—by such people as young adventurers and noblemen (of the kind we might meet in the novels of Cervantes, embroiled with pretty gypsy girls), or by liveried pages in the palaces of rich and noble families (as Miss Pearce suggests). Such costumes are certainly somewhat romantic and retrospective (not unlike those of the doormen in our large apartment houses), but for the young Caravaggio they were an everyday sight; he had only to call some of these young rascals from the neighborhood, who were certainly his friends (they might have been pages from the Palazzo Madama or Giustiniani), and to observe them sitting and playing around a table in some half-dark room of the *pian-terreno*.

It is always difficult, especially with Caravaggio, to attempt to establish a logical sequence, stylistically as well as psychologically, from one painting to the next. Mr. Hinks tries with great ardor to do what has not been done before—to make a plausible construction of Caravaggio's entire work, and in many cases this courageous effort is surely valuable. Every author has, of course, the right to his preferences, as has every historical period. Thus, for a long time the appreciation of Caravaggio was focused on the early works—the half-length genre scenes, the flower-pieces, and so on—whereas Caravaggio's late paintings in Naples and Sicily were neglected and underrated. But the works of the middle period—especially the great Roman altar-

pieces—were generally regarded with great respect as the real core of his fame, even though they attracted less investigation. In some respects, Mr. Hinks has now reversed the scale of interest for the different parts of Caravaggio's artistic production. He gives a full account of the problems involved in the youthful works, but his complete enthusiasm is given only to the post-Roman works. Of these paintings, executed in the last three hectic years of Caravaggio's life, many are almost in a state of ruin; others have been repainted so heavily that some of them have been attributed at times to local masters. Indeed, even the most conscientious and scientific restoration could not bring back the original surfaces of these works. Yet their magnificence of conception could not be destroyed and is evident almost everywhere. They are all characterized by a certain fantastic and, in some cases, almost lyrical diffusion of forms, and by the progressive loosening and monochromatization of the palette, so that their effect, to the modern eye, has a good deal in common with the late styles of other great masters whose life-span was far longer than Caravaggio's. This may explain why, at the exhibition in Milan of 1951, paintings like *The Burial of St. Lucy*, *The Resurrection of Lazarus*, or the Messina *Nativity* made a deeper impression on many spectators than the precise and highly finished works of Caravaggio's "mature" period, such as the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*. Mr. Hinks, too, is of this opinion. For him, so it seems, the "modern" works of Caravaggio (that is, progressive for their time, and still modern for us) are those done after the murder of Ranuccio Tomassoni and the flight to Paliano, events which were "almost a blessing in disguise" for Caravaggio and his art (p. 78).

Mr. Hinks believes that Caravaggio's heart was not in the monumental altarpieces which he produced in quick succession during his later Roman period (from 1600 until the middle of 1606), and which through the centuries were considered the peak of his art. For Mr. Hinks, the *Deposition* for the Filippini (now in the Vatican) and most of the other Roman altarpieces are big theological "machines"; they are classical and Caraccesque "diversions" from the artist's better self, and are merely Caravaggio's "reply to the challenge of the Carracci and of Guido Reni."³ And because these altarpieces are made *contre-cœur*, they are also considered to be, if I understand Mr. Hinks rightly, fundamentally dishonest. This seems to me an even stronger criticism of Caravaggio than the more familiar accusation of his being only an imitator of nature. According to Mr. Hinks, Caravaggio represented St. Peter nailed on his cross, "defiant, like a refractory patient upon an operating table . . . still full of the pride of life, not at all submissive to another's will,

gio & Reni," *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, 1945) to suggest a relationship between the style of Reni (in the Vatican *Crucifixion of St. Peter*) and Caravaggio's decision to change his first version of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* into a more concentrated structure. However, since then I have come to the conclusion that the dates of Reni's early work are too uncertain to permit positive deductions.

2. Or see the comparable costumes of noblemen in Cerano's *S. Carlo Blessing Crosses after the Plague*, Milan Cathedral (reproduced in *Pittori Lombardi*, ed. Giorgio Nicodemi, Rome, 1922, pl. x).

3. I cannot see how Reni's works (until ca. 1606) could have influenced the compositional schemes of Caravaggio, although I have tried ("The 'Crucifixion of St. Peter': Caravag-

be it Caesar's or God's" (p. 90). What a blasphemous interpretation of the work of a Catholic painter, especially of a presumed adherent of Filippo Neri, who preached the joyful submission to the will of God.

Mr. Hinks's attack on the *Madonna del Rosario* goes still farther (p. 57). He overlooks completely the most expressive and intense group of the "adoranti"—a real masterpiece of Caravaggio's power of draughtsmanship—and he does not consider the fact that (at least in my opinion) large portions of the upper half of the painting have not been finished by Caravaggio himself. For Mr. Hinks, the whole monumental "bondieuserie" is a "solemn farce," possibly even a "veiled satire on Tridentine propaganda." He wonders whether the painter was not trying to convey a "cryptic message," a "clandestine comment." This colossal heresy seems to be personified in the imagination of Mr. Hinks by the figure of the respectable-looking elderly gentleman at the left side of the painting, probably the donor (does he really belong to the original composition?), whom Mr. Hinks has whisper to the community: "This is all make-believe, and you and I know it!" And the magnificent *Madonna dei Palafrenieri*, too, is viewed by Mr. Hinks as lacking in veracity. The Madonna looks "nervous and *distracte*," the Christ child "embarrassingly naked—as naked as the 'Amore,'" St. Anne wears an "ambiguous expression," and the whole is a "disturbing image" (p. 76).

Certainly it is disturbing to contemplate the abrupt change from Caravaggio the young still-life and genre painter to Caravaggio the painter of monumental altarpieces *alla romana* or *alla veneziana*. But it is, I believe, unnecessary to imply a desire by Caravaggio to vie with the other star of early Baroque art in Rome, Annibale Carracci. As has often been said, it is quite probable that Caravaggio was impressed by the structure and monumental style of the older master, and that paintings like the *Incredulity of St. Thomas*, the *Supper at Emmaus*, etc. are somewhat influenced by Annibale's clear tonality. However, during Caravaggio's Roman years Annibale was working on the Farnese Gallery and produced few of these "machines." One has only to go to the Cerasi Chapel and look at Annibale's very intense and personal *Assumption* to see how little the style of his painting had to do with Caravaggio's *Conversion* and *Crucifixion*, which happen to be in the same chapel.

Despite the gossip which people like Floris van Dijck (and later, Baglione and Bellori) spread about Caravaggio's boast that he recognized no master but nature, his works are demonstrably full of borrowings of motifs, ideas, and compositional schemes from other masters of very different schools and periods. Like Rubens, the Carracci, and so many other artists of his generation, Caravaggio was an "eclectic" almost in the sense of Lodovico Carracci's dictum (according to Malvasia) about the work of his cousin, Annibale: that one could become a leader in art (a "caporione") not by following one master, but by borrowing from many. One wishes that Mr. Hinks had chosen to compare some of

Caravaggio's works with other similar compositions. Such a method would surely have enhanced not only our understanding of the origins of Caravaggio's art, but our comprehension of his singular individuality.

As a whole, Mr. Hinks's book leaves the impression that there are many unsolved Caravaggio problems, and that the time is not yet ripe for a definitive monograph on Caravaggio. Clearly, this book is not intended to be such a monograph; it is, rather, a stimulating venture into a still largely uncharted territory.

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ELLIS WATERHOUSE, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790* (*The Pelican History of Art*), Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1953. Pp. 285; 192 pls. \$8.50.

The study of British painting is only now emerging from a state which may be roughly likened to that of the Italian about a century ago. The major works by the greater men are in public galleries or have been frequently exhibited, and with the help of reproductions and constant publication their character is sufficiently familiar. On the other hand, the work of minor men, to which the same full study must be extended, remains untraced and undetermined, or inaccessible in private collections, and if it emerges occasionally at special exhibitions it can scarcely be studied at leisure. In private houses the less distinguished paintings are generally in ill-lit rooms or so placed that they cannot be examined closely. More often than not their condition, aggravated by originally bad technique, is such as to render full judgment impossible.

On the documentary side there is no Vasari; printed references before the nineteenth century are few, and either because the personages whose memoirs and correspondence have been thought worthy of publication were concerned with more important matters than the art of their time or because their editors considered that their opinions on such subjects were not of sufficient interest to be printed, contemporary accounts of painting are rare. When they do occur they are generally in journals or correspondence of foreign travel and then are more likely to consist of comparisons between the merits of Guido Reni and Carlo Dolci than of notes on contemporary painters or their work. Nor does family tradition compensate for the lack of written history. Family memory is rarely reliable beyond two or three generations. As long as there is some member of the household who knew the person portrayed, no one troubles to write down the name, and when that aged survivor dies no one can say for certain whom the portrait represents. As for the artist, the greatest name that can be given is generally attached, just as in France all gardens are attributed to Lenôtre. When the traditional attribution is patently wrong, a name hazarded by a visiting connoisseur is sometimes dutifully adopted by the owner and passed

on as authoritative to the housekeeper guide. When the pictures reach the auction room otherwise than direct from the parent house, their history becomes still more confused. Consciously or unconsciously the so-called pedigrees of pictures are transferred from one version to another, as indeed according to rumor may have happened already when they were in private possession. Dimensions have been regularly given in the sale catalogues only since about 1900. In the case of more remote ancestors there may have occurred even more "innocent impostures." There is a significant passage in the letters from that well-known connoisseur and collector Sir William Hamilton to his nephew Charles Greville. In October 1774 Hamilton sent Greville from Naples a portrait of a boy with the words "It will do very well for your brother's purpose at the Castle [Warwick] and may be christened Fulke as the Spanish dress was worn in England in Elizabeth's time." The passage is open to all in the printed *Morrison Collection*; that it does not appear to have been quoted must be because the light that it throws is too vivid and too disconcerting.

In some respects the position has been much improved in recent years. Official requirements and, unhappily, even more insistent demands have revealed to competent inspection possessions which had not been previously recorded. Photographs are taken at temporary exhibitions, metropolitan or local, or specially, at some considerable expense, for officials or well-endowed students. These, however, even when accessible are not entirely an unmixed gain. Useful as they are as reminders, they are not a full substitute for the careful notes and sketches which earlier generations of historians were in the habit of making, while for those who do not know the originals they are most unsafe guides. The legendary accounts printed or traditional are steadily being corrected. Public records and private archives are being searched by trained investigators for correspondence, payments, and inventories, and the results appear in various periodicals, of which the most important are the volumes of the *Walpole Society*. Their publication of Vertue's Notebooks with an invaluable index has made easily available the material which has always been the basis of thorough research but hitherto could only be studied with the utmost difficulty except in the form of Walpole's summary. For the eighteenth century and printed sources the volumes of William Whitley have proved invaluable. Largely because of the unreliability of the pictures themselves, "restored" or not, and of tradition, some scholars in recent years have concentrated more on drawings, and others on documents and the entertaining but often fallacious catalogues of auction sales.

Professor Waterhouse is well aware of these obstacles in the way of a comprehensive survey such as is possible for the art of countries which has been studied by generations of highly competent historians, and in his preface he describes his volume as tentative. Not a week has passed, he says, since he began to write the book without some picture or signature appearing which caused him to modify his conception. He might perhaps

have added that to see a picture again in a better light, or cleaned, or even without a dirty glass, may compel a revision of judgment. Nor has he hesitated, especially in the earlier parts of the book, to emphasize the extreme uncertainty which surrounds the whole subject. He says explicitly of the Elizabethan period that it has not yet been seriously studied, and even of the portrait and subject painters of the eighteenth century he mentions several who seem to him worthy of further investigation. Certainly his knowledge is so great that he can well afford to confess to ignorance. He has an unequalled acquaintance with the pictures that remain in English and Scottish private houses, he has a passion for documents and an astonishing memory both for pictures and for records, published or unpublished. Perhaps indeed his memory is sometimes too good, for he is tempted to rely upon it without verification. Further, like Mr. Collins Baker to whom as his mentor and predecessor he makes generous reference, but unlike the generality of previous writers, he has even greater knowledge of the Continental schools and is able to judge of English art in its relationships to them. On the other hand, he is fully in the British tradition in regarding a picture almost entirely as a representation of nature. This causes his attitude in general to be conservative, though he is paradoxical in detail, and in that case if his statements sometimes seem arbitrary or even capricious it may well be that he is only laying down a challenge.

In the early chapters there is little apart from Holbein upon which a firm stand can be made. Britain is comparatively rich in early portraits by different foreign hands, but in the general uncertainty full consideration would demand disproportionate space. William Stretes has given way, following Dr. Auerbach's discoveries, to Gwilym Scrots, but both the merit and the doubts remain under the less attractive and more evidently foreign name. The chief novelty is the portrait of Queen Mary in the collection of Sir Bruce Ingram which is now reproduced as "surely Eworth's unsigned masterpiece." Only three years ago it was exhibited under Professor Waterhouse's auspices as by a close follower of Holbein. Here, as with so many other court painters mentioned in the book, the changes of manner in accordance with current fashions are so chameleon-like that, as Professor Waterhouse might himself have said, a good argument for attributing an anonymous portrait to a given artist is that it is unlike any other of his known works.

Much the same problems and absence of certainty exist in the next period until the coming of Van Dyck. The Gheeraerts and Critz families are left much in the air, Van Somer all but disappears, Mytens proves very changeable. Van Dyck himself is somewhat vaguely handled and too little account is taken of his deterioration in England when tempted to facility by his overwhelming commissions. His contemporaries knew his better work and if Professor Waterhouse had paused to survey the period as a whole he could not have failed to make more of his pervading influence and that of the patrons who employed him. Probably

the author takes a knowledge of this influence for granted in his readers; at any rate his main purpose is to stress any differences between Van Dyck and his English contemporaries or followers. In a casual sentence in the next section he draws a distinction between "the historian and the student of the genius of the creative artist," and throughout, but chiefly in his account of the seventeenth century, he is entirely concerned with establishing a personality for each of the minor artists whom he takes up in turn. This is largely a matter, as it was with Mr. Collins Baker (who had, however, himself practiced painting), of determining details of technique, and if the results are sometimes successful they must depend upon the extent to which the picture needs, or has suffered from, the operations of the cleaner. Dobson, who may be taken as an instance since he alone has passed recently through the hard test of a one-man show, may well have exhibited methods of painting which he could scarcely have learnt—and perhaps might have unlearnt—in Van Dyck's studio.¹ When, however, the author, going further than Mr. Collins Baker, finds Dobson's psychological interest in his sitter greater than, and different from, Van Dyck's, the reader may well demur. His characterization may be more obvious, as is always the case with a painter who is less capable of observing and representing the subtleties of the human head, but he has nothing to compare with Van Dyck's best heads even after he had replaced his friends at Antwerp by the fair ladies and arrogant young toughs whose portraits were ordered from his studio in England. Professor Waterhouse quotes as evidence of Dobson's greater interest in character his fondness for surrounding his sitter with appropriate accessories, but he himself acknowledges that such objects had long been regarded as the correct appurtenances for a portrait and seems to forget the shells which form the greater part of the earlier Tradescant picture or the long row of marbles which supply the setting of Mytens' portrait of the Earl of Arundel, both of which he illustrates. In Dobson's finest picture, the portrait of Endymion Porter, he finds the bust and the relief, perhaps representing the arts, to have relevance to the sitter's character as a poet. He wisely omits to mention the gun in Porter's hands. Van Dyck could afford to dispense with such symbols of character or profession, and his representation could fill the canvas by virtue of its own force and life where lesser artists were compelled to cover the space with objects of more or less interest, very possibly by other hands.

Dobson's groups are put together on much the same lines as those of Van Dyck and if they show slightly more activity it would be rash to credit to any greater psychological interest in Dobson the effort, too common throughout British painting, to compensate for lack of vitality by the representation of movement. In any case the self-portrait with Sir C. Cotterell and Sir

B. Gerbier is entirely wanting in any intelligible connection between the personages, while, to judge from the photographs, if the group of Colonel Murray with Colonel Russell and Prince Rupert does in truth record the incident traditionally given as its explanation, the embarrassed and furtive glances of the principal actor and his two witnesses would provide a strange comment on an event which was supposed to be honorable. It must always be a matter of opinion whether ambiguity in a portrait is due to the complex personality of the sitter or to the indecision of the painter. Dobson is rightly celebrated as a native product and certainly painted some remarkable portraits, but apart from these the impression enduring from the exhibition of his work at the Tate Gallery accords with the traditional character given to him by Vertue and the earlier writers, namely that of a somewhat flaccid follower of Van Dyck. It is only by turning a momentarily blind eye to Van Dyck's greater qualities that Dobson can be argued into a position of independence.

Somewhat firmer ground is reached with Lely and his immediate contemporaries, but foreign influences are now so numerous and conflicting that personality is again in danger of becoming overlaid, and foreigners or their works of every stamp were still brought into the country. There is no middle term which covers such diverse works as the bold portrait of Pepys in the National Portrait Gallery by Hayls and the court productions of Lely and Huysmans, little indeed to cover Lely's court ladies and his admirals or friends. Though it is not suggested by Professor Waterhouse, even so comparatively obscure a manifestation as the French provincial *peintres de réalité* may have found an echo in the common personages painted by Riley. Nor is our catalogue of painters complete. Since this book was published, the portrait of the third Lord Irwin reproduced in it as by Francis Barlow has been proved from documents by Mr. Hugh Honour in the *Leeds Art Calendar* (Autumn, 1953) to be by Leonard Knyff who was previously known only as a topographer and painter of still life.

With the appearance of greater and better known native-born personalities in the eighteenth century, Professor Waterhouse's treatment of individual artists naturally becomes more human, his account of Reynolds being especially vigorous and striking. At the same time fuller records—for Vertue now writes as a contemporary—tempt him to give short introductory chapters describing the state of the arts in each period. If something of the kind had been given for the preceding century, the influence of Charles I and his court and later the extension of the interest in painting to such diverse amateurs as Prince Rupert, the Evelyn family and Mrs. Pepys might have received some notice. Impatient as he is, as a rule, of generalizations regarding the national character, especially when flattering, he finds, with Mr. Collins Baker, from the

1. It is scarcely the case that, as said on p. 53, the invariable statement that Dobson was Groom of the Privy Chamber and Serjeant Painter rests on "only the unsupported note of an 18th century antiquary." Oldys, the antiquary in question,

explicitly gives as his authority *Calanthe*, a volume of verse over the initials T.R. which he identified with Thomas Rawlins, medalist, playwright, and contemporary of Dobson whose elegy was headed with these titles.

beginning of the century British characteristics in portrait painting which had survived from the seventeenth century and showed themselves in tendencies which led to Hogarth and ultimately to Reynolds. The first paragraph of Chapter X summarizes this tendency as an opposition to Kneller. The reader is therefore surprised when, after a digression on foreign influences to which reference will be made below, Kneller becomes the leader of the new school. The reason for this appears to be that while at first Professor Waterhouse had in mind the general form or formula of Kneller's portraits, he has transferred his attention to the brush work and greater liveliness of touch which Kneller showed in sketches and occasionally in more intimate portraits. It is possible that the difference between the two styles can be better explained by the positions for which the paintings of the different types were respectively intended in the rooms. For example, if the completed portraits in the Kit-cat series were destined to be placed high up above bookcases in a library where such pictures are still to be seen in old houses, a coarser, more formal and more charged presentation would be justified than in the lively unfinished *Lord Shannon* or in the finished picture of the host, Tonson himself, which would probably have been placed above the mantel. Similarly in dealing with the later period in the century, Professor Waterhouse seems to lay too much stress on the influence of the exhibitions which began in 1760 and too little on the conditions under which the paintings would be seen in private. A heightening of color was soon noted, but the manner of hanging, deplorable as it may seem to modern eyes, was only that to which the connoisseurs were accustomed even in the palaces of Rome. Gainsborough, in asking that his full length portrait of the three Princesses should be hung, as a concession, not higher than five and a half feet from the ground because it was painted in a tender light, expressly said that he "approved very much of the established line for strong effects." Quite apart from exhibition requirements, a standing whole-length which would hang above the wainscoting, or at any rate above chair level, must have had the head some nine or ten feet from the floor. This would call for quite another handling than a head or half-length which might, with good fortune, be hung at eye level. It must also be remembered that the full-lengths of the second half of the century would as a rule be hung among the splendors of Van Dyck and the elegance and pomp of Kneller. Hogarth's *Captain Coram* was painted well before the exhibitions, but nothing could be more "exhibitionist" than its reminiscences of the grand style and that vivacity increasing with old age which, in La Rochefoucauld's phrase, comes near to insanity.

A further statement about the foundation of the

2. It should perhaps be mentioned that Walpole's comparison with Hogarth of Zoffany's picture of 1762 *The Farmer's Return* which puzzles the author to the extent of a whole paragraph (on p. 229) is a reference to Hogarth's frontispiece to the play, engraved by Basire in 1761, on which Zoffany's picture is so obviously based, figure for figure,

Royal Academy would seem to be due to a confusion. It was not, as is said on p. 159, owing to the admission of unworthy pictures to the Society of Artists' exhibition that the older writers attribute the secession of the principal artists, but to the "indiscriminate admission of members" to the Society which its charter gave no means of regulating, and to the inevitable consequence of this upon the election of the directorate.

Perhaps enough has been said to show that there is room for argument regarding Professor Waterhouse's invariably well expressed and most persuasive statements. Other corrections of details are pointed out in an able notice of the book in the *Times Literary Supplement* of August 7, 1953. In these hurried days and in a book containing so much detail, errors and omissions are inevitable and Professor Waterhouse will probably have been the first to discover them himself between the last corrections of the proof and the issue of the book.² There is however a more serious criticism regarding the whole scope of the book. It is in the main devoted to an account of portrait painters in oil and until almost the end of the period other forms of painting are treated merely as an appendage. This is a matter of emphasis and arrangement, not of the quantity available, for it was the English artist's complaint that he was confined to portrait making, and, while the paintings of other types and decorations have disappeared or been disregarded, portraits have always retained their interest for family or national reasons and have been kept in evidence through frequent repetition and engravings. Even in portraits the book scarcely gives attention to miniatures after the date of Hilliard. No attempt is made to account for England's sole preeminence in this form of art; indeed the mention of it is all but a subject for apology. Samuel Cooper is lightly brushed aside although his fame was, and is, deservedly greater than Dobson's or Wright's. Surely in his case scale is of as little importance as it is, say, in Holbein's, whose miniatures have the qualities of his greater pictures. Even for the later period, that of Cosway and Engleheart, alien as their work is to the taste of today, it has a claim for serious consideration as illustrating within the compass of inches some of the superficial attractions and still more of the shortcomings of the full-dress picture.

Decoration, history pieces, and landscapes have been less studied than the portraits whether in oil or in other mediums. For the full treatment of native and foreign decorators, the different styles that they introduced and the different manners in each period, we must await the appearance of the work upon which Mr. Edward Croft-Murray has been engaged for some years.³ Even so, one grudges the space that is occupied by Professor Waterhouse's doubts about Verrio's place of birth—surely a matter of complete indifference to

that no acknowledgment was thought necessary.

3. The sanguine drawing by Fuller at Dublin for one of his figures in Magdalen College, Oxford, is of such excellence that it may have unduly colored the views of the present writer with regard to the possibilities of decorative painting in this period.

his work in England. Small as it is, it might have been better devoted to a fuller consideration of his accomplishment. In the puzzling passage in his Introduction to the eighteenth century (Chapter X) to which reference has already been made as coming between two apparently conflicting views of Kneller, Professor Waterhouse contrasts the spirit in which British painters worked at Rome at the beginning and in the middle of the century. Both in this passage and in the repetition on page 164 he appears again to have portrait painting only in view. There is however nothing to show that long before Giles Hussey (who is mentioned only in a footnote) the painters did not go to Rome with the ambition of becoming history painters on a large scale and meeting with such great opportunities as were given to Thornhill at Greenwich and St. Paul's, and returned only to disillusion. Ramsay, indeed, with his cautious Scottish nature may have made his two journeys with a clear intention of introducing an improved method of portraiture, but the whole of his career shows that he regarded his painting as a mere business and livelihood and sought to obtain distinction in other fields. Reynolds' sketch books and notes prove that he was concerned in Italy with paintings and decorations which were far removed from portraiture, and had he had the courage of his ambitions and less consciousness of his deficiencies in training he might have secured, for good or ill, on his return, the patronage of royalty and the lucrative commissions which were enjoyed by West. Reynolds' ambitions, as Professor Waterhouse elsewhere recognizes, were fired by the *Essays* of Richardson, which were far more influential than his son's *Treatise* which is quoted in this context. Readers of the *Essays* were already conversant with the Grand Style which Richardson found and glorified in the cartoons of Raphael. These, which receive no mention from Professor Waterhouse, were publicly available from the beginning of the century at Hampton Court, were several times engraved and were copied by Thornhill; indeed in the opinion of some they rendered it unnecessary for a young painter to run the risks of a journey to Rome. Nor does he mention the discoveries at Herculaneum some years before Reynolds arrived in Rome, which caused a revolution in taste throughout Europe, including Britain. When the neo-classic was combined with the exotic or Ossianic movement it produced the pre-romantic art associated with Fuseli which, except in its Scottish manifestations, Professor Waterhouse leaves to the writer of a further volume to discuss. It is, moreover, a fact which requires to be taken into consideration that until the death of Carlo Maratta in 1713 the tradition of the Grand Style could be regarded as a living force at Rome.

It might have been thought that a writer as intent as Professor Waterhouse on showing that Hogarth and Reynolds were not the revolutionaries that they were thought to be might have given more attention to the earlier developments of landscape painting in England. Instead, he seems to share the view of the traditional writers, to whom the early landscapes made

no appeal except when, like the portraits, they had a personal or documentary interest and in whose eyes any departure from English scenery appeared a truancy unless following the British Flag, and imaginary compositions were an aberration requiring an apology. He mentions in passing that several of the seventeenth century foreigners painted landscape as well as history and portraits but his only reference to those by Rubens, by whom there were several in the King's and Buckingham's collections, is to the *St. George*, and he says of this that it contains a "view of London," a strange way of indicating, after Mr. Croft-Murray (*Burlington Magazine*, April 1947), that some London buildings are introduced into the background as fantastically as are the portraits of the King and Queen in the same picture. For Dankerts he gives a few biographical details and quotes the well-known passage in Pepys' Diary, but in spite of the merits of his well-known *Pineapple* picture and the curiosity about him which is naturally excited by Pepys, he says nothing more than that he specialized in views of famous places and that the back passages at Windsor and Hampton Court still contain a number of his landscapes. This unusually convenient collocation should surely have given an opportunity for some characterization, analysis and, if necessary, discrimination. For the rest he follows contentedly and without question the threadbare and ambiguous antithesis between topographic and ideal landscape with, on occasion, an appeal to the "rules of art." Under the head of topographic he classes the views of wide expanses found in the work of Siberechts, Jan Wyck, and Lambert to whom in turn he accordingly gives the name of father of English landscape. To the example of Lambert he rightly attributes the most successful feature in Richard Wilson's portraits of English houses, the treatment of the building, as in his *Minchenden House*, as only a minute incident in a wide scene. When Wilson tries to weave a house or grounds more prominently into a composition he falls into such difficulties that it is easy to understand why Gainsborough omitted to mention him in the often quoted letter recommending Sandby as the only genius who made real views from Nature. Similarly, Professor Waterhouse credits successively Lankrink (p. 79), Wootton (pp. 114, 216) and Lambert (p. 172) with the introduction of the ideal or Gaspardesque style, notwithstanding that he illustrates an example by Jacques Rousseau who came between. He fully recognizes that Gainsborough was influenced by the Gaspardesque tradition, perhaps modified by the French, just as he rightly sees that the so-called "*Cornard Wood*" is not, as it has so often been described, a literal leaf-by-leaf transcript from nature but a deliberate composition under the influence of the Dutch. It is therefore unfortunate that he should explicitly instance, and reproduce, as the example of the fusion of the topographic and picturesque traditions a monstrous and purely mechanical combination of St. Paul's with a Venetian canal which is attributed, apparently without authority, to Marlow. It is true that the landscapes by the earlier men were

largely furniture pictures; but they were fortunate to obtain even that amount of patronage. Gainsborough's two landscapes at Woburn are admittedly of this character and they proclaim it in their crowding of incidents which are unrelated in space, but that does not prevent them from being described in detail by Professor Waterhouse and twice praised as among the loveliest of his works.

Certainly earlier British oil-painting of landscape apart from Wilson and Gainsborough has so far been neglected by serious historians, and even apart from their condition most of the pictures exhibited have made but a poor showing. The deficiency is, however, counterbalanced by the English work in water color and this, as he does the miniatures, Professor Waterhouse sets aside almost entirely. He gives a short and inadequate account of the rise of painting in that medium which might have been taken from one of the earlier handbooks and the only artists on whom he dwells explicitly are Sandby and Rowlandson, and on Sandby only as a topographic and naturalistic artist.⁴ Yet Sandby from the days of his first Scottish etchings was also, in common with most of his early contemporaries, a maker of imaginary compositions. He first owed his great reputation to *An Historical Landskip representing the Welsh Bard in the opening of Mr. Gray's celebrated ode*, exhibited in 1761 (before any recorded visit to Wales and some years before the paintings of *The Maid of Corinth* by Wright and others, in which Professor Waterhouse finds [p. 209] that "for the first time contemporary poetry and painting went hand in hand") and we know from his son that the artists whom he most admired were Marco Ricci and Richard Wilson. As a rule his imaginary views as well as the documentary were painted in body color when they were comparatively large in size and intended for framing and decoration on the wall. Indeed it would appear that Sandby himself laid more store on his proficiency in the opaque method and his fondness for this medium proves how little force there is, at any rate with regard to this period, in the platitude that water color is particularly suitable to the English climate with which Professor Waterhouse has a fling at the English weather as well as at the medium. His ideal compositions, though sometimes as stilted and "romantic" as any in the period, are often scarcely distinguishable from his drawings of Welsh scenery. By a curious oversight a version of one of these, Scotch, Welsh, or purely imaginary, is introduced as an illustration to this book. The large mural decorations for Drakelow House are stated in the text to be painted "entirely with forest foliage"; in fact two of the three walls which are painted show vistas of moun-

tain and lake scenery, framed or bordered with trees. The central portion of one of these with only one tree is shown on Plate 175B.

No such happy accident helps to save the short paragraph in which Professor Waterhouse dismisses a so-called "Southern School" for treatment in a further volume. Contrary to his statement, except for the altogether extraordinary journey of John Cozens to Naples in the retinue of William Beckford, with his musician, his doctor, and his tutor in three carriages, it seems that none of the water-color artists were "taken" to Italy as draughtsmen to gentlemen on their tours, and at most two to Switzerland. Whatever might have been the case for China or the West Indies, gentlemen on the Grand Tour could pick up their souvenirs, faithful, embellished or generalized and evocative, on the spot; and if they wished to travel farther East they could find in a Frenchman or an Italian, a Clérissieu, Balugani or Lusieri, a more amenable and possibly less costly companion and certainly a more serviceable factotum and a more experienced architectural draughtsman than any British artist at Rome. The English water-color artists, precisely like the painters in oil, in which medium they themselves almost invariably also practiced, might have been subsidized by patrons at home and might hope to obtain commissions or make friends at Rome. But they, too, went there to "improve" themselves, as Walpole says of Pars, and for the sake of inspiration and models in art and scenery which they could use in compositions and recollections for the rest of their life. Slips which can be easily corrected should not as a rule be quoted against a writer, but some slips are more informative than paragraphs of description or analysis. Following one or other of the older authorities, Professor Waterhouse gives 1799 as the date of John Cozens' death. Anyone who has a serious interest in this great artist could not have failed to notice, either in Farington's Diary or in the volume devoted by the *Walpole Society* entirely to his work, that since the publication of that Diary all uncertainty regarding the date of his death has been cleared up and that it took place in 1797.

Professor Waterhouse explains his summary treatment of the water-color artists, as he does that of the imaginative "history" painters around Fuseli, as due to their being mere forerunners of the "Romantic School" of the next century. It would have been easier to accept this explanation if he had not on page 157 identified this romantic movement with Wordsworth's poetry and then in three successive chapters found this very quality to be one of the chief merits in Wilson (pp. 172, 176), in Gainsborough (p. 190) and in

color and otherwise by the Netherlandish masters of the seventeenth century whose work, whether from nature or composed, is more advanced in color and atmospheric effect than anything British in the first half of the eighteenth century. It should never be lost sight of in any account of the rise of English water-color painting. Several of these artists worked in England and many of their English views are in the British Museum.

4. In saying (p. 238) that Sandby's works "are not, as Samuel Scott's had been, arranged into compositions according to the principles of Canaletto" the author appears to forget the many drawings and oil views of the Thames from Somerset House Gardens which both Sandbys painted in imitation of Canaletto either directly or indirectly through Scott himself. Thomas Sandby actually copied and signed a *capriccio* by Canaletto. Paul's immense collection contained drawings in

Stubbs (p. 219). A feature which is the acme of achievement in oil painting cannot be a reason for postponing treatment when it occurs in water color; or, to put it more vulgarly, what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Further, even if the chief importance of their work had lain in their anticipation of greater men, nonetheless it is, again like that of the Ossianic painters, both in its achievement and its limitations, so intrinsically a part of the eighteenth century picture that no survey of the period can be complete without it, whatever may have followed it. In fact, however, the best of these artists are not mere forerunners. They have excellences and characteristics which are either absent from, or obscured in, the art of their successors and they demand attention and analysis for this reason alone. For this we must perhaps await the appearance of the book on the English water-color painters by Dr. Henri Lemaître of Paris which is promised at the end of his article on Francis Towne in the *Revue des Arts* of September 1953. Dr. Lemaître is already known for his studies of Blake and Ruskin. It may be that a foreign critic with his acute sensitivity and trained power of analysis and expression may make more impression on the academic mind of Great Britain than even the poetic insight of Laurence Binyon.

One cannot however have everything. If there had been more about the artists in landscape in this book, and if it had been devoted more to the systematic and sympathetic interpretation of changes and developments in vision and forms of expression and less to a procession of individuals, we should have been deprived of a wealth of indications regarding little-known portraits which Professor Waterhouse offers to the specialist. If, on the other hand, these indications of out-of-the-way pictures may seem arid to the general reader and the student in his early stages, the vivacity of Professor Waterhouse's exposition, almost as though it were an improvisation alternating with well-indexed notes, and his sustained attitude of independence may act as a stimulus, and encourage them to use their own eyes and examine works of art—and the book itself—in something of his spirit.

The illustrations are, with a few exceptions, admirably chosen, largely from little-known works in private possession. The difficulty of obtaining the measurements of these without unduly troubling the owners is perhaps the reason for the omission of the dimensions below the reproductions in all cases.

A. P. OPPÉ
London

J. BYAM SHAW, *The Drawings of Francesco Guardi*, London, Faber and Faber, 1951. Pp. 86; 80 pls. 27s. 6d.

Mr. Shaw's volume on Guardi is one of the more recent among the half-dozen monographs on old master drawings published by Faber and Faber. The present volume and that by Mr. Popham on the draw-

ings of Parmigianino, from the same series, are two of the most valuable contributions made in the past few years to this particular sphere of art history. They share with the others in the group the common virtues of good typography, nice paper, convenient size, and scrupulous attention with regard to quality of reproduction. Their moderate cost is by no means least among their good points.

The book comes at an opportune moment. It may be obvious to mention the extraordinary favor in which Guardi and his great Venetian contemporaries are now held, but the 4500 pounds paid last summer in London for Guardi's large view from Lady Ashburnham's collection is only the last, and the most spectacular, demonstration of the lengths to which collectors will go nowadays in securing first-rate drawings by these masters. The truth remains, however, that there has not been a satisfactory survey of Guardi's drawings until the appearance of this volume, no matter how generously Mr. Shaw may emphasize the contributions made by earlier writers. Pallucchini's volume on the drawings in the Museo Correr in Venice is necessarily limited to the one-sided collection in that institution, and its reproductions often seriously distort the character of the originals. The remaining major studies on Guardi consider the drawings more or less incidentally. Both Goering and Fiocco introduced a considerable amount of unpublished material, but Goering's publication is marred by chronological errors that are at times grave, and Fiocco's, like most of the Italian studies, tends to concentrate upon the still problematic religious and mythological compositions. Simonson's study has the shortcomings inherent in any initial exploration of a new subject.

The volume under consideration has none of the flaws mentioned above. Mr. Shaw's selection of drawings is well-balanced and inclusive. It remains fascinating throughout by reason of its high quality and the number of less well-known examples he has chosen to illustrate. He reproduces 75 of Francesco's drawings out of a total which he estimates a slightly more than 525. Due to his prolonged study of Venice and its art, he moves with such ease and authority through the canals and around the squares of the city in Guardi's footsteps that, as he states, he has often been able to ascertain the exact spot from which Guardi drew his views. Those of us who are irresistibly attracted to eighteenth-century Venice can be grateful that the grace and sensitivity with which Mr. Shaw wears his erudition give the book much of the ingratiating charm to be found in the drawings themselves.

Because of the difficulty of coordinating all the drawings into a tight chronological listing, and following the model of Pallucchini, Mr. Shaw groups the drawings into "histories," straight views, *macchiette* (studies of figures, figure-groups, gondolas, etc.), imaginary architectural views, and fantastic views, ending with a few drawings by Giacomo Guardi and one modern forgery which have been included for comparative purposes.

The "historical" drawings—religious, mythological,

and historical scenes—offer the widest opportunity for divergence of opinion among scholars. The majority of them are fairly early, dating probably up to 1760, and were done during the period when Francesco's older brother Gianantonio was head of the Guardi establishment. Fiocco has proved beyond doubt that Francesco owed much of his early training to Gianantonio, and at one time their styles of draughtsmanship must have been highly similar. Mr. Shaw's point of view on this problem is a sensible one. Basing his judgment on the few drawings which can be claimed without compromise as Gianantonio's (and which may all be, perhaps unfortunately, late ones), he concludes that the older artist is a "capable but not distinguished draughtsman," whose relatively smooth line, pale and unaccented washes, pretty figures, and easy compositions make him an average Venetian of the mid-eighteenth century. Mr. Shaw admits that his conception of Gianantonio is less favorable than the opinion currently developing in Italy, and admits as well that two of the drawings he reproduces, Prof. Morassi's Madonna and Child with Saints and the Allegory of Venice in the British Museum (Pls. 2, 3), which are certainly, as he affirms, by the same hand, may be by Gianantonio. If F. De Maffei's recent study of Gianantonio¹ is correct in differentiating between the figures used by the two brothers, then the narrow heads, long thin noses, sharp chins, and slanting curved eyes of the figures in this pair of drawings are closer to the older brother, and Francesco's type is the rounder face with thicker features seen in the three Madonnas of Plates 4-6. The present reviewer must admit that the flashy but rather flabby modeling of the Morassi composition causes him some disquiet of mind, but it is by no means beyond the range of possibility that these two drawings reveal Francesco at an instant when he was particularly dependent upon his older brother. Since the few records in which the Guardi family is mentioned offer little specific information on the question, and because some of the paintings which are decisive for the problem are in a dubious state of preservation and others are difficult of access, it seems likely that considerable time may elapse before a unanimous decision can be reached as to the relative shares of the two brothers in the creation or the execution of works done in the studio, up to Gianantonio's death in 1760.²

According to Mr. Shaw, Guardi's most significant

1. F. De Maffei, *Gian Antonio Guardi pittore di figura*, Verona, 1951. According to the author, the signature on the painting by Francesco in the Ringling Museum in Sarasota mentioned by Mr. Shaw in a footnote on p. 17, as one of the 4 signed religious works by him, was a later addition, and has been removed by the Museum authorities. She publishes the full correspondence with the Museum on this matter. The painting may still be, at least in part, by Francesco, but it can of course no longer serve as an unquestioned point of departure for additional attributions.

2. A. Morassi, one of the foremost art historians to investigate this matter, has recently reviewed and amplified his point of view in two important articles in *Emporium* (Nov., 1951) and the *Burlington Magazine* (Aug., 1953). In the latter, the sketch for an altarpiece, in the Ashmolean (Pl. 1), is attributed by him to Gianantonio. The reviewer is not sufficiently familiar

accomplishments are unquestionably to be found in the *vedute*, either the strictly factual representation of the site (the *Veduta presa dal Luogo*, to make use of the phrase from the title-page of Canaletto's group of etchings), or the capricious, imaginative view, architectural or fantastic (the *Veduta ideata*). Guardi entered this field fairly late in his career. Shaw's conclusion that the change from "historian" to *vedutista* occurred in the years around 1760, in connection with Canaletto and perhaps as the result of Guardi's study in the latter's studio, appears to be upheld by the scanty literary evidence, like the comment in the Gradenigo diaries,³ as well as by the artist's earliest views of Venice, which are the most accurate topographical drawings we have from his hand. In this group of drawings the painstaking manner with which line and wash delineate form, the sober correctness with which the subject is depicted, bring them quite close to Canaletto.

By 1765 or so, however, Guardi had developed his personal style, in which a nervous, flickering line and subtly and richly varied washes give an atmospheric brilliance and luminosity that transform the subject into pictorial enchantment; this concept was more natural for him than had been the somewhat pedantic truthfulness of the earlier Canalettesque type. After that time Guardi was so little interested in literal reality that the perspectival flaws and inaccuracies of scale noticeable in an occasional mature view apparently no longer troubled him (see Pl. 27 for the former and Pl. 40 for the latter "fault").

Although some of the larger and more highly finished drawings of views were presumably created as independent works of art, meant to be framed and hung, the majority of these studies were primarily intended to furnish information for subsequent paintings. The imaginative scenes are late works, with very few exceptions such as the one in Hamburg (Pl. 68) which, interestingly enough, is inspired by Canaletto's Torre di Malghera, as Mr. Shaw notes. They include many of Guardi's most delightful drawings. Shaw reasons, with justice it seems to me, that the freedom and inventiveness of this type were ideally suited to the temperament of the fully developed artist, and that he probably most thoroughly enjoyed sketching in this *genre*. The category comprises, in any event, the largest number of his drawings that has survived.

Mr. Shaw has shown himself particularly astute in

with the original paintings and drawings involved in the problem to feel that he can take a positive stand at the present.

3. L. Livan transcribed the remarks in the diaries relating to the arts as *Notizie d'arte tratte dai notatori e dagli annali del N. H. Pietro Gradenigo*, Venice, 1942. The quotation referring to Francesco Guardi, dated April 25, 1764, quoted by Mr. Shaw in translation on p. 16, is to be found on p. 106 of Livan, and runs as follows: "Francesco Guardi, Pittore della contrada de' S:ti Apostoli su le Fondamente Nove buon Scolaro del rinomato. . . Canaletto, essendo molto riuscito per via della Camera Ottica dipingere sopra due non piccole Tele, ordinate da un Forestiere Inglese, le vedute della Piazza di S. Marco verso la Chiesa, e l'Orologio, e del Ponte di Rialto, e sinistre Fabbriche verso Canareggio, oggi le rese esposte su laterali delle Procuratie Nove, mediante che si procacciò l'universale applauso."

discussing the many pitfalls that lie in wait for the person who attempts to create an absolute chronology including all the drawings of *vedute*. It is true that the earlier ones can be isolated reasonably well, and a good number of the later ones are clearly studies for individual paintings, of which several can be dated with precision. Mr. Shaw has found, too, that some minor details, especially women's coiffures, are often invaluable in determining dates; this last observation, oddly enough, does not seem to have occurred to earlier writers. The high and narrow headdress that supplanted the low, tight one in the 1760's and the high and wide headdress, often further bedecked with plumes, mob-cap, or straw hat, that came in at the end of the next decade, offer dependable *termini post quem* for many sketches. Beyond this, however, it is frequently impossible, or at least dangerous, to proceed. In his maturity and old age Guardi handled themes with considerable irresponsibility, so far as their factual content is concerned. He often took as his source earlier paintings or prints of other artists (especially those by or after Canaletto), or his own earlier sketches or paintings, so that details that might presumably indicate a known moment, founded on our historical knowledge of the state of architecture in Venice in the course of the eighteenth century—the appearance or disappearance of a *comanile* or a change in its contour, the construction or demolition of a palace or church—may be thoroughly misleading. The only late drawings of *vedute* which maintain the accuracy of the early ones are views of the mainland (Venetian villas and their gardens, and a few hilly scenes made on a trip to his family home in the Trentino in 1782), which he presumably knew less well and wished to fix sharply in his memory. It is evident that the capricious *vedute*, and in all likelihood a certain percentage of the straight views of his maturity, were executed in his studio, and that for the latter he must often have depended upon his memory or upon earlier prototypes.

Like other important Venetian or partly Venetian draughtsmen of his time (and Tiepolo and Piranesi spring to mind), Guardi was as versatile in the techniques he employed as he was in creating new subjects or transforming already existing ones. Ink, wash, chalks, alone and in varying combinations, were used with pen and brush. He seems to have been fondest of the quill or reed pen, although Mr. Shaw considers that the fine, unchanging strokes found in some of the earlier drawings suggest the use of the metal pen. Mr. F. J. B. Watson, in his review of the book, quoting from a letter of 1700/1, in which the steel pen is specifically mentioned, proves that it was available by that time.⁴ Guardi apparently made indiscriminate use of whatever paper was available in the studio (a characteristic shared by Piranesi), and among the most perceptive of Mr. Shaw's comments are those in which he warns against over-hasty dismissal of a drawing which appears less perfect or pleasing than

those constituting the accepted canon. He remarks that a lumpy piece of paper, the poor cutting of a quill, or the quality of ink may at times result in perceptibly inferior sketches. The Venetian school in general, with its constant "pictorial" aims and "impressionist" techniques, is more apt to suffer from occasional lapses than are some of the other Italian schools, which are less dependent upon the intuition and means of the moment.

Guardi never achieved the fame of Canaletto or Tiepolo, but he does appear to have been moderately well esteemed in his own day; Mr. Watson, in the same review, quotes a new reference which implies that Guardi was less indifferently regarded than is often assumed. Nevertheless, he was not famous enough to have his drawings copied frequently in his own lifetime. Mr. Shaw considers that the Guardi-like drawings, of which quite a number are now known, can be classified into three groups. The eighteenth-century examples emanated entirely from the family circle. Francesco's youngest son Giacomo is responsible for the largest recognizable group, rather crude and heavy-handed in treatment; a certain number of them bear his signature. Mr. Shaw concludes that Giacomo also drew the "feeble Guardiesque" sketches encountered from time to time on the reverse of genuine drawings by Francesco, like the Morgan Library *Bucintoro* (Pl. 45). Giacomo lived into the nineteenth century, and made his living disposing of his father's remaining works and selling his own copies and *pastiches* after Francesco, either in the form of ink-and-wash or colored drawings or as paintings, both usually small in scale. The second group consists of a small number of drawings made by artists and amateurs in the earlier nineteenth century, when Guardi was fairly popular for a time in England and on the Continent. The last group of copies is more recent, and seems to be, at least in large part, the output of a single personality. The drawings appeared on the market after 1910, insofar as has been ascertainable, and probably originated in Venice, since they frequently repeat or vary motifs found in the Correr drawings. They are drawn on eighteenth-century paper, and show signs at times of having been deliberately faded. Their appearance coincided with the rise in value of Guardi drawings; they are evidently, therefore, deliberate forgeries.

The high standards of the author's introduction and catalogue are continued in the illustrations. Only Plate 31 falls below the customary level of fine half-tone reproductions. This technique is especially satisfactory for drawings in which wash plays an important role; both the slight variations and the translucence in tone of the originals are better captured by this means than by any other except the most costly collotype. Mr. Shaw is to be congratulated for a book whose every page reveals taste, scholarship, and genuine affection for his subject.

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4. *Burlington Magazine*, xciii, no. 583 (Oct., 1951), p. 331.

KLAUS LANKHEIT, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik* (*Heidelberger Kunstgeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, N. F., 1, edited by Walter Paatz), Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag Carl Winter, 1952. Pp. 200; 40 ills. DM 24.00.

Carl Philipp Fohr, *Skizzenbuch; Bildniszeichnungen deutscher Künstler in Rom*, Introduction and Catalogue by Arthur von Schneider, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1952. Pp. 36; 48 pls. DM 13.50.

The meaning of the term romanticism for the history of art is still obscure. The late Gustav Pauli asserted that "there is no such thing as a romantic style, only a romantic sentiment." The statement is hardly valid. We would not know the romantic sentiment of the artist had he not found for its expression the formal means that we call style. It must be admitted, however, that what we may call romantic art is at best an extraordinarily complex phenomenon and that its contours appear blurred in more than one respect. Its eighteenth century beginnings are almost inextricably interwoven with the painterly tradition of the baroque and *Louis XVI*. The second (i.e. the nineteenth century) phase of romanticism, on the contrary, cultivates, in Germany at least, a linear rather than a painterly style, and is in this respect much closer to the French classicist Ingres than to the latter's romantic foe Delacroix. It is not even certain that classicism itself was really the adversary of romanticism, rather than one of its manifestations.

Despite such uncertainties, there are a number of good reasons to recommend the use of the term romantic art. Since the 1760's a number of stylistic tendencies emerge that are novel and distinct from late baroque. Contemporary witnesses themselves were keenly aware of this break. And they identified many of its stylistic symptoms as "romantic," a term which, as an aesthetic category, undergoes a Cinderella-like transformation in the course of the eighteenth century. Used in a deprecatory sense by the Augustans, "romantic" gradually came to embody nearly everything that was considered essential to great art: the sublime and the somber, the fantastic and the spine-tingling, the imaginative and the passionate. Victor Hugo called the romantic movement the 1789 of literature and art. We may reverse the statement by saying that the revolution of taste that occurred during the Age of Revolution appears as the triumph of the romantic.

In our search for the chronological boundaries of romantic art it may be wise to follow the history of taste. The romantic age would thus begin at the time when painters, sculptors, and architects started to win public acclaim for being "romantic." By this definition romanticism would begin in the 1760's or 1770's. Fuseli, the elder Cozens, and Goya are its champions in painting, the French and English admirers of Piranesi lead the movement in architecture, and its most articulate spokesman is probably Diderot.

The second phase of romanticism is represented by men who are a generation younger than the "revolu-

tionaries" and who were active around 1800. Now the theme is no longer revolution but restoration, and classical or Gothic works serve as models, not in order to oppose the conventions of contemporary taste but, on the contrary, in order to impose generally binding norms upon the individual creation of every artist. In this sense Quatremère de Quincy is no less a romantic than the German "Nazarenes." Finally, the romanticism of the 1830's and the mid-century is hardly more than the anemic aftermath of the earlier movement, if we except Delacroix.

Very likely—and Irving Babbitt notwithstanding—we are still too much inclined to consider romanticism a movement of the nineteenth century, even though its decisive aspects are all rooted in the eighteenth. Even so, romanticism has several consecutive phases the distinct aspects of which must not be blurred if we seek to understand the movement as a whole. And the safest as well as the most fruitful approach is probably the tracing of an individual theme in the art of the decades between 1760 and 1830. This is what Mr. Lankheit, in his book on the representations of friendship in romantic art, has done. As a psychological and social phenomenon, the cult of friendship is among the most characteristic of the time around 1800. But while its literary and historical aspects have often been explored, nothing similar has so far been attempted with reference to art. Lankheit studies the iconography of friendship on three levels: the portrait of two or more friends; allegories and symbols of friendship; and illustrations of historical, mythological, and literary themes of friendship.

The first part of the book deals with the antecedents. In mediaeval, Renaissance, and baroque art, representations of friendship are quite rare. As Lankheit points out, the ethics of the mediaeval church recognized friendship only as an effect of *caritas*, and true friendship as existing only in the world to come. Inasmuch as mediaeval art is the art of the church, it is not surprising, therefore, if representations of friendship are all but absent. (But the author is wrong in inferring from the absence of the theme in a theological program in which it had no place that friendship had no autonomous value in the Middle Ages. The courtly epic and even Dante provide ample proof to the contrary.) The only Biblical pair of friends, David and Jonathan, does not seem to have been represented until the thirteenth century; and when it does appear, the allegorical significance overshadows the human. Surprisingly, Lankheit makes no mention of the group of Christ and St. John. Since the end of the thirteenth century, this theme evokes the mystical idea of God as man's friend (*Gottesfreundschaft*). In the lyrical intimacy of its language, the group of Christ and St. John is equally significant as evidence for the new humanization of Christian thought and iconography and as the only representation of the experience of friendship in Christian art.

With the age of the Renaissance, and of humanism, portraits of friends begin to appear, even though not all examples adduced by Lankheit will convince the

reader. Can the group portrait of the five "founders of Florentine art" in the Louvre—the attribution of it to Uccello remains as hypothetical as the identity of the sitters—really be called an early *Freundschaftsbild*? In nearly all group portraits of humanists, it is the similarity of interest, achievement, and status that is depicted, rather than the human relationship which we expect to find in an image of friendship. Something similar holds true for the baroque. Lankheit explains the absence of representations of friendship during that period sociologically, i.e., by the "cult of egotism" in society (p. 31) which, he writes, did not permit the free coordination of partners on a footing of equality but only the subordination of the socially inferior to his superior. Baroque portraiture certainly reflects baroque society. But is it not rather the essentially non-private character of all art prior to the eighteenth century which precludes the representation not only of friendship but of all purely human relations between the individuals portrayed? (Rembrandt seems to be the only real exception.)

The image of friendship originates in the age of sensibility. Lankheit rightly stresses the importance of England for the creation of what he calls the sentimental portrait of friends. He is far less convincing when he asserts (p. 41) that sensibility originated in England and never quite struck roots in France—Vauvenargues, Prévost, Rousseau and their rapt French audiences notwithstanding. By and large, the non-German reader will feel that the author has dealt with the evidence outside Germany more summarily than his subject warrants. Lankheit discusses with interesting results sentimental representations of friendship in eighteenth century illustrations of mythological and literary themes, in allegories and temples dedicated to friendship and even in autograph albums (pp. 65ff.). To his examples one might add Caffieri's allegory of "Friendship mourning at a Tomb" (1767) and the statues of "famous friends" that adorned the gardens at Betz as parts of a romantic repertoire which included a Chinese boat, a pyramid consecrated to American independence, and statues of knights, monsters, and giants.

The three main parts of Lankheit's book trace the development of the romantic image of friendship through the three phases of the romantic movement which I have indicated above. As the "revolutionary" friendships among poets of the Storm and Stress anticipate similar alliances among the later romantics, the first romantic portraits of friends also make their appearance at that time. In this context, Lankheit rightly stresses the importance of J. H. Fuseli. There can no longer be any doubt concerning the extraordinary historical significance of this gifted eccentric, but this significance exceeds his artistic achievement which Lankheit (and others today) single out for much greater praise than it deserves. I am not sure that the author interprets correctly Fuseli's portrait of himself and his literary mentor Bodmer. Does the large bust between the two really represent Ossian or Homer? In his *Ode to Bodmer* (1764) Fuseli envisaged the poet as con-

versing with the protective genius of Helvetia, to whom he recommends the name "den mit heissbethraenter Wehmut dein Zuerich einst dem Fremdling nennen wird"—presumably none other than Fuseli himself who had left his native country to seek fame and recognition elsewhere. Is not the same theme of nostalgia and conceit struck in the double portrait which Fuseli painted during his last visit to Switzerland? Lankheit stresses the influence which Fuseli's picture exerted on Wilhelm Tischbein who saw it in 1781. One wonders if this influence is not reflected in the most famous of Tischbein's paintings, his portrait of Goethe in the Campagna. The attitude of the poet is certainly reminiscent of that in which Fuseli, who always posed successfully as the genius *par excellence*, had depicted himself in the older work.

Only around 1800 does the portrait of friends become a recurring rather than an exceptional theme. As such it appears as an exclusively and typically German phenomenon that can only be explained in terms of the intellectual and sociological setting in which the artists concerned worked and lived. Lankheit (p. 72) quotes Goethe's remark, in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, regarding the isolation of poets who were "no longer members of a guild and found themselves deprived of even the slightest advantage in society, enjoying neither security nor status nor prestige." The same was true for the artists. Many of these, moreover, were violent enemies of the academies and thus cut themselves off voluntarily from the traditional sources of recognition and support. They were thus reduced to a solitary existence, often in the most precarious economic circumstances. In response, many of them founded close alliances with their fellow artists, which a romantic cult of the past prompted them to view as revivals of mediaeval guilds or fraternities. The poet Friedrich Schlegel actually called upon the artists "to band together, like the mediaeval merchants, for their mutual protection." Many of the younger romantics, moreover, worked and met in Rome. In a foreign milieu, the common ties of background and vocation became all the more apparent to them—as an external token of this self-consciousness many of them wore the "old-German" garb; and reminiscences of the recently founded fraternities of students, as well as the frequent need for mutual help, suggested to the young artists a new kind of brotherhood.

It is no coincidence that the romantic portrait of friends is so largely located in this milieu. Nearly all these paintings represent artists. Lankheit rightly stresses the characteristic elements of this type of composition, above all the intent of conveying the *ethos* of friendship by the expression and coordination of the portrayed. But one cannot help feeling that the *Freundschaftsbild* is of local rather than general significance. Only one or two examples are of really high quality, and their number, which is small even in Lankheit's enumeration, is reduced still further if family groups are excluded, as Lankheit's own definition would postulate. There is no very convincing reason for including Runge's *Wir Drei* or Ramboux' oil portrait of the

brothers Eberhard (Lankheit does not mention the master's superb lithograph of this work). And is it really appropriate to include romantic landscapes such as C. D. Friedrich's *Two Men contemplating the Moon* or Ferd. Olivier's drawing *Moenchsberg* in the discussion? Here neither the identity of the friends nor the idea of friendship is apparent to the observer.

Of much greater relevance and interest is Lankheit's discussion of romantic allegories of friendship. Here he explores one of the most interesting phenomena of romantic art, the secularization of Christian iconography (pp. 113, 129ff.). Thus Fohr's water color of the nineteen members of the *Urburschenschaft* suggests a "secularized Last Supper." (Lankheit might have mentioned the antecedents of this idea in Protestant art: thus in his *Last Supper* in St. Mary's, Dessau, the younger Cranach replaced the disciples by portraits of the Reformers and of the Princes of Anhalt.) Again, Pforr's allegories of friendship borrow from the iconography of the Virgin Mary. (Lankheit has recently explored still further this aspect of romanticism; cf. *Zeitschrift fuer Kunstwissenschaft*, VII, 1953.)

By a happy coincidence the most important portraits of German romantics have just been made available in a beautiful facsimile publication of sketches by Carl Philipp Fohr. During his stay in Rome (1816-18) Fohr prepared a large group portrait of German artists and writers who used to gather daily at the Café Greco, the small establishment in the Via Condotti (near the Piazza di Spagna) which has attracted German travelers from the time of Winckelmann to our own day. For the proposed engraving, Fohr drew a series of heads (now in the Kurpfälzisches Museum in Heidelberg), as well as two large drawings of the two main groups (now in Frankfurt). These drawings, done entirely in pencil, are masterpieces. In their blend of precision and fine observation, they are unsurpassed even by Ingres. The two group compositions were intended to balance each other. Fohr has dramatically contrasted the lively crowd gathered around the jovial figure of the painter Johann Anton Koch with the more "introverted," and meditative group of the "Nazarenes," Overbeck, Philipp Veit and Cornelius, whom he represents at a game of chess. To underscore the contrast of temperaments, Fohr, as A. v. Schneider rightly stresses, even varies his style: he is warmly realistic in the first group, and a cool classicist in the second.

Fohr's tragic death—he was drowned, at the age of 23, in the Tiber—prevented him from carrying out the project, which might well have become the greatest group portrait of the nineteenth century. The reproduction of the sketches is all the more to be welcomed as our estimate of German romanticism is unduly overshadowed by the figures of Runge and Friedrich. Even though the number of his works is small, Fohr's artistic personality appears richer, his style more vigorous and less reflective than theirs.

The reproductions of his sketches in the present edition are very good. One only regrets that, although the drawings are reproduced in actual size, the margins are often badly clipped. Also, the title, *Skizzenbuch*, is

somewhat misleading. The editor points out that the sketches are drawn on five different sorts of paper and must hence have belonged to different sketchbooks. The introduction gives an excellent survey of the life of the German romantics in Rome as well as of Fohr's life and art. Succinct biographies of all identifiable sitters are a valuable addition to this fine volume.

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JOSEPH C. SLOANE, *French Painting between the Past and the Present; Artists, Critics, and Traditions from 1848 to 1870*, Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. 241; 90 ills. \$12.50.

One of the chief needs in the study of nineteenth century painting are monographs that give a clear, detailed picture of single aspects of the art during a short period. Such are the books by J. Locquin on history painting in France from 1747 to 1785 and by L. Rosenthal on French painting from 1830 to 1848 (*Du romantisme au réalisme*). Professor Sloane's work is an attempt to supply a similar treatment of a period in which he rightly recognizes a turning point in modern art. Since he believes that the break with the past was sharper in the subject matter than in the forms, he devotes himself mainly to the changing notions about the themes of painting. His conclusion is that while painters before the middle of the century represented noble and ideal subjects with a clear moral significance, by 1870 painters had come to see the subject as an insignificant part of the picture; it was now a neutral object without intrinsic value, a raw material for the artistic operations. He accounts for the change by citing the decline of traditional values of church and monarchy upon the rise of modern conditions of life. At the end he asks whether this change is for the good, and although he admits that from the point of view of formal excellence the art of the last hundred years is as great as any art in the past, he regrets the loss of moral and religious content, a loss which he thinks is part of a more general moral decline; he hopes that some religious or moral regeneration will give to artists a new symbolism of ideal themes and thereby restore the old spiritualizing function of art.

I do not find the book a satisfactory treatment of the problem, and I shall try to indicate why. As a study of the disappearance of the traditional hierarchy of subjects in which history painting was at the top and landscape, portraiture, genre and still life at the bottom, the book ignores surprisingly the changes that had taken place during the two centuries before 1850. The dominant themes had been dethroned long before in Holland; and in France in the eighteenth century many amateurs, critics, and artists judged paintings of the traditionally lower themes to be as worthy as the best paintings of history, religion, and myth. The idea of pure art—that the value of a painting lay in its qualities of form and color or truth to nature rather than in its

subject—was widely held during this time. Important too is the fact that the so-called noble subjects in French art of the nineteenth century were themselves the outcome of a revival—the movement of classicism which had received a special impetus from the French Revolution, itself the greatest blow ever dealt to the monarchy and the church. In isolating the two antagonists in mid-nineteenth century art, the official and the independent art, as if one was the representative of a traditional, aristocratic past with stable beliefs and a secure morality, the other of an amoral, materialistic modernity of godlessness, democracy, and science, Professor Sloane has lost sight of the specific content of the opposed types of themes. Why, we are led to ask, did the French Jacobins, destroyers of monarchy and church, require an art of history painting with Roman subjects, while their radical grandchildren rejected historical and mythological painting and turned to images of everyday life?

The relationships would be clearer, I think, if Professor Sloane had considered with care the subject matter of both the academic and the independent art. He has read the opinions of the critics, but has not looked enough at the paintings themselves. We are told many times that the conservative artists represented religious and classical subjects; but these subjects have not been investigated to define their common character, and we receive the impression that the academic artists of the mid-nineteenth century chose for the most part the same elevating themes as the historical painters of the previous centuries, interpreting them in about the same way—they lacked only the deep conviction or power of style necessary to make of these subjects great works of art. It is as if a writer on Christian art were to describe the religious themes of the fourteenth or fifteenth century in the same terms as those of the twelfth and thirteenth. Only when Professor Sloane comes to Puvis de Chavannes and Moreau does he remark on a new attitude to the traditional historical and classical subject matter; but even here he says little that is acute, and fails to formulate the difference from the past. We are not sure whether their novelty lies in the style or in the conception of the subjects. Puvis' subjects are a new body of themes, governed by a characteristic conservative idealization of the past as a model for modern civic life, an attitude perhaps akin to the view of the ancient world in the writings of Fustel de Coulanges. Because of the neglect of the character of the individual themes, the book is useless for an interpretative "iconography" of the mythological and historical painting of the time. Such a study would bring us closer, I think, to the ideas and attitudes of the artists and would also provide some interesting links with broader values of the period. For example, a comparison of David's *Death of Marat* with Baudry's painting of the same subject is instructive for the change in history painting in little more than two generations, as well as for the change in social ideas; the importance given to Charlotte Corday in the later work reminds us too of the predominance of the erotic theme in French official and Salon art all through this period

—a fact about which Professor Sloane is silent, although it is evident enough in his plates and was a matter of frequent comment in the criticism of the time.

If he ignores the specific content of the historical subjects, he is also blind to the meanings of the subjects that replaced them. The concept of history was itself changing during this time; it was a common thought that history was not a matter of kings and heroes but of society as a whole and especially of ordinary people acting and reacting as a class. From this new point of view everyday events, costumes and customs, diversions and funerals, were as much "history" as were politics and wars. It is this new conception that led Courbet to call his *Burial at Ornans* a "tableau historique." Far from denying all values, the realists asserted the human importance of contemporary experience, of sincerity and the value of the individual. To say, as Professor Sloane does, that themes which are not overtly moralizing and religious reflect an artist's indifference to human values is absurd. Quoting the writers of the time, he is able to see a moral and spiritual meaning in Millet's pictures of peasants; but sharing a prejudice of that time he is unable to see the standpoint of Courbet's vision of the peasant. It is a surprise to read in this book that Courbet aimed at "an inventory of existence . . . without interesting ideas or artistry of form." Courbet's *Atelier*, which is an attempt to portray symbolically his broad view of society, can hardly be reconciled with this interpretation. This great picture has been described at length by the artist himself, so that it offers an exceptional material to anyone who is concerned with the subjects of mid-nineteenth century painting and with the artists' conception of their world; but Professor Sloane passes it by.

When he comes to Manet, he speaks at length of the painter's indifference to the values of the themes he represents; Manet is described as beholding with the same neutral eye a still life, a human being, and a tragic scene of execution. Here the emotional tone of the artist is confused with the attitude that determines the choice of the subjects. The latter have some attraction for the artist; they belong to experience and desire, to a definite sector of life, and observation will reveal that from this domain of subjects Manet has chosen only themes congenial to him—not simply because they were at hand or because they furnished a particular coloring or light, but rather because they were his world in an overt or symbolic sense and related intimately to his person and outlook. Professor Sloane is puzzled by *The Execution of Maximilian*. He ignores the intense contemporaneity of so many of Manet's themes and his positive interest in the refractory, the independent, the marginal, and the artistic in life itself (the world of performers and spectacle). The account of Degas' art, too, suffers from an astonishing insensitivity to the meanings. The conventional belief that Degas' art is solely an affair of "line and design" keeps Professor Sloane from observing the undertones of Degas' historical pictures and the significance of the horse race, the ballet, the laundress, and the musician

for the painter's sensibility. Hence it is no illumination but rather an obscuring of the development of modern art to write that it was a change from an art with noble meanings to an art with no meanings at all that was concerned only with forms.

The meaning of Courbet's subjects: The Stone-Breakers, the Funeral, the Atelier, the Peasants Returning from the Fair, have to be explored like any religious subject before they will yield their connotations. The same or similar themes appear in the novels and poems and memoirs of the time and in political writings, as the religious themes of the art of the Middle Ages appear in the religious literature and ritual, which help us to grasp their original significance. Professor Sloane makes little use of contemporary literature in studying the subjects of painting and misses some obvious connections. He ignores too the evidence this literature provides about prevailing tastes and attitudes shared by the artists. More can be learned from the de Goncourts than he has suspected. The detachment of so many of Manet's generation, their skepticism and intense personal independence, are described and explained with great acuteness in a little brochure of the de Goncourts, *La Révolution dans les Mœurs*; and the new feeling for the outdoors and the life of the sensations as a mark of modernity, with decided social and moral implications, is clearly expressed in *Renée Maupeyrin*.

Professor Sloane proposes some connections or parallelisms of painting and other fields, but these relationships are fuzzy or false. It is hard to imagine what he has in mind in saying that since the seventeenth century there has been a shift in art from the qualitative to the quantitative, as in science, or when he writes that in the mid-nineteenth century "there were other scientific systems to replace the outworn Newtonian scheme," whereas "there were no moral substitutes for the spiritual heritage which was being done away with."

I have not tried to verify Professor Sloane's use of texts or to estimate how representative they are. He has read extensively in the art periodicals of the time and excerpted much that is interesting and piquant. In places he seems to take too great pleasure in reprinting and condemning mediocre opinions, which explain nothing or merely illustrate the well-known fact that just perception of new art is extremely rare. He overestimates the critic Privat whose judgment of Manet is certainly less precise than Astruc's and Zola's; the context—with Privat's admiration for the academicians Chaplin and Baudry—makes clear how unsure was his standpoint. It is also hard to share Professor Sloane's enthusiasm for Régnault (who was the son of the great chemist and not, as we read in this book, of an academic artist). The outstanding writers on painting, Baudelaire, Thoré-Bürger, Champfleury, and Fromentin, are presented with rather little insight into their problems and point of view. Baudelaire's relation to contemporary art is a complex problem that requires a more refined treatment than Professor Sloane allows it. The poet's lifelong struggle with the conflicting demands of "imagination" and realistic "moder-

nity" was a passionate and unresolved one that throws some light on the development discussed in the book. Where this conflict is apparent, in a remark on Manet, Professor Sloane has fatally mistranslated the passage, distorting its sense in a strange way. "M. Manet," we read, "has a decided taste for reality, modern reality—which is already a good symptom—that lively and ample, sensible, audacious imagination without which, it must be said, all the best faculties are only servants without a master, agents without a government." Professor Sloane then goes on to explicate Baudelaire's concept of imagination as referring "to a form of spontaneous artistic vision rather than an image conjured up out of the mind." What Baudelaire says, however, is the following: "MM. Manet et Legros unissent à un goût décidé pour la réalité[,] la réalité moderne,—ce qui est déjà un bon symptôme,—cette imagination vive et ample, sensible, audacieuse, sans laquelle, il faut bien le dire, toutes les meilleures facultés ne sont que des serviteurs sans maîtres. . . ." It is clear that Baudelaire does not identify imagination with the taste for reality, but—as is evident from many other passages in his writings—regards imagination as a necessary complementary faculty, the lack of which keeps realism from achieving true works of art. Professor Sloane has confused Baudelaire's concept of imagination with his idea of naïveté as a power or habit of intense direct vision.

MEYER SCHAPIRO
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JOHN I. H. BAUR, *Loren McIver-I. Rice Pereira*, New York, Macmillan (for the Whitney Museum of American Art), 1953. Pp. 71; 42 ills. \$3.00.

This book, the result of a retrospective exhibition of paintings by Loren McIver and I. Rice Pereira at the Whitney Museum in January and February 1953, is one of the volumes in the American Artists Series published by the same museum. Printed as a catalogue, it is also a critical and biographical study of two of America's leading woman painters. This type of publication, much favored by American museums, certainly has advantages, especially of an economic sort, but some drawbacks as well. The text claims to be more than the usual preface or introduction to an exhibition. Through its emphasis on source material—there is a chronology of biographical data and a selected bibliography in addition to Mr. Baur's essay—it produces the impression that the author's estimate of the quality and originality of the works discussed is meant to be definitive. We are impelled, however, to view books of this type more as a descriptive kind of appreciation, stressing the artists' work and personality while giving little attention to problems of criticism, influences, schools, and classification.

In connection with Miss McIver's work the author writes: "Critics have seen influences in her work of artists as far apart as Odilon Redon and Paul Klee. Certainly she is well aware of the great art of past and

present and, like virtually every living painter, has felt its impact in a general way. But she quite rightly denies that anyone has been her model or has exerted a decisive influence on her, a fact which seems amply corroborated by her very flexible and personal style." There is no dependence, then, on the inventions of Surrealism (Max Ernst in particular), of Klee, Kurt Schwitters, Miró, modern stage design, Matisse, Dufy, and the Futurists; no connection between the work and ideas of Kandinsky, Leger, Mondrian, Moholy-Nagy, Masson, and what Miss Pereira has produced. One is led to think here of a remark made by Thomas B. Hess: "The American myth of sacrosanct originality—probably initiated by patent lawyers, but today perpetuated by all retailers, especially art dealers—has made the possibility of derivation more unmentionable than that of venereal disease." It is obvious that the writer who is concerned with the sympathetic presentation of artists belonging to so-called national schools is from the beginning both prejudiced and handicapped. Prejudiced, because any curator of any museum of national art wishes to emphasize the importance and the status of its representatives; handicapped (unless he happens to be French) because in general he will have to deal with artists to whom he cannot attribute the significance of those pioneers and masters who inhabit the Olympus of Modern Art. From this we can easily deduce that any emphasis on a national art in a period which despite all its "isms" has produced a universal style comparable indeed to the Phoenician or Hellenistic styles, must cause difficulties. The parallel of the Phoenician and the Hellenistic styles seems preferable to the Romanesque, the Gothic, and the Baroque, although they all prove that a style cannot be imprisoned within the narrow conception of political frontiers. The latter styles are the expression of a unified world-view, whereas the characteristics of the former arise from the fact, so relevant to our own times, that they were spread over a wide area including different religious beliefs and cultural traditions, and using a conglomeration of formal values, unified only apparently. The Phoenician style held sway from Assyria to Armenia in the East, and could be found in Greece, Etruria, and even Gaul. All art forms of the East were simultaneously used and amalgamated. It could happen in this "style" that an Egyptian Pharaoh would be dressed in an Assyrian vestment fighting a griffin, etc. Phoenician arts and crafts were international and highly appreciated in such different literary sources as Homer and the Bible. The universality of modern art ("La première culture artistique universelle . . . n'est pas un envahissement, mais une des conquêtes suprêmes de l'occident," says André Malraux in *Les Voix du Silence*) categorically demands a single yardstick for artistic values, not an international one apart from a national one. These difficulties might have been avoided, or at least diminished to a great extent if the author of our two studies had chosen the more objective, detached and factual manner with which Alfred H. Barr approaches his subjects. But Mr. Baur's approach is somewhat

subjective and even emotional ("Her mobile face with its wide, sensitive mouth . . ." "In her softly urgent voice with its undertone of strong feeling . . ."). The author often chooses superlatives which would not allow him to do justice to those artists who in fact originated the styles, the ideas, and the techniques which are mirrored in the works he analyzes and describes. In connection with Pereira's later work we read: "These pictures transcend both personal emotion and aesthetic theory. They speak with a purity and beauty that is unsurpassed in the special field of abstract art which Pereira has made her own." Or again, in connection with MacIver: "No one but a Japanese artist has painted rain so successfully as MacIver." (Turner? Whistler? Some Impressionists?) Nevertheless the essays give a good account of the subject matters, the techniques, the characteristics, the development of style, as well as detailed biographical data (which often appear in two versions, interwoven in the story itself and also in the Chronology). Whether the personal and often rather sentimental statements about the private life and thoughts of the artists involved add much to the understanding of their art is open to conjecture. The volume is well illustrated and beautifully produced.

MacIver's style might be termed amorphous-automatic-child-like (" . . . it sometimes seems as if she deliberately sought to preserve a child-like innocence in both her paintings and her relations with the world"), while Pereira's is more scientific and geometric, based on a "pure scientific or geometric system of aesthetics . . . which seeks to find plastic equivalents for the revolutionary discoveries in mathematics, physics, biochemistry and radioactivity." Neither style would provoke great excitement in Europe. This is not to say that abstraction in general, be it geometric or surrealist, is considered useless. On the contrary, it is an important polemic and stylistic element. Any true artist can accept the positive, constructive part of it and repudiate all that is sterile and arbitrary. One has grown tired here, however, of a trend in painting which would require a genius of inventiveness and imagination but has produced only dogmatic, sectarian statements and a great number of adherents whose inner possibilities do not reach beyond the repetition of variations of mechanical and biomorphic patterns or vague, shapeless lyricisms. We do not plead with these words for any new modishness, nor do we suggest that the artists mentioned are "old-fashioned." Such terms do not touch upon the essence of art but only upon the change of taste. But it occurred to the writer of these lines when studying the works displayed at the Biennale in Venice, 1952, that there was something like a vibration of hope in some of the Italian achievements, deeply rooted as they were in the great Graeco-Roman-Christian tradition and at the same time new in their approach to human values, to beauty and grace, those qualities so seemingly inaccessible to the artist of today.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

Mr. Germain Seligman's review of Dr. Klaus Berger's book on Géricault, in the December 1953 issue of the *ART BULLETIN* (p. 320ff.), refrains from touching upon many of the numerous problems of attribution and chronology which that book raises.

The most serious of these concern the authenticity of several works illustrated and discussed in Mr. Berger's monograph. Plate 12, for example, is identified in the caption and the accompanying catalogue as the well-known *Portrait of a Carabinier* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Rouen. Actually, comparison reveals that Mr. Berger's plate reproduces an inferior copy of Géricault's painting, a copy that once formed part of the Coates collection in Glasgow and now appears to be on the Parisian art market.

Plate 3 is described as a sketch for an early version of the *Charging Chasseur*. It is, in fact, one of several fairly exact copies after the genuine sketch in the Louvre (RF 210; Clément 41) to which Mr. Berger does not refer. The sketch in the Louvre is certainly from Géricault's hand; the same cannot be so confidently asserted for the various copies after it. There is some evidence that Géricault occasionally repeated his sketches, though I know of no instance of such pedantically precise repetition. The copy after the Louvre sketch which is in the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne (Inv. 75) seems qualitatively the best, and perhaps deserves to be admitted (with reservations) to Géricault's *œuvre*. The copy which Mr. Berger illustrates appears too halting and awkward for that. Perhaps it is a student copy by Montfort, Jamar, or Lehoux who frequently made studies after sketches by their master.

Plate 16 reproduces a *Retreat from Moscow*, formerly in the collection of the Duc de Trévise and now in the possession of Mr. Germain Seligman. Mr. Berger accepts this painting without qualifications. As might be expected, Mr. Seligman enthusiastically concurs; this is, in fact, the only one of the problematical attributions in Mr. Berger's book to which Mr. Seligman's review gives detailed attention. Actually, the authenticity of this canvas is open to serious doubt. Its diffuse composition, its loosely constructed figures and its spatial ambiguities offer no real parallels to the style of Géricault. To attribute it to Géricault—in the absence of compelling documentary or stylistic evidence—is an act of personal faith. Mr. Berger's discussion of it gives no hint of that. The fact that a connoisseur such as the Duc de Trévise once owned the picture and evidently believed in it is not sufficient "evidence" to warrant Mr. Seligman's didactic statement that "its fundamental significance in the *œuvre* of the artist cannot well be denied." It would be interesting to learn whether this opinion is endorsed by other connoisseurs of Géricault. Mr. Berger dates the *Retreat from Moscow* about 1815. I wonder for what reason? There is nothing stylistically comparable to it in Géricault's work of that time. Personally, I believe that the picture

dates from about 1830, or later, and that its author might be found in the vicinity of Raffet or Charlet (as Mr. Anthony Blunt has suggested, cf. *Burlington Magazine*, xcv, January 1953, p. 24).

In publishing the *Guillotined Head* in the Geneva Museum (Plate 51), Mr. Berger admits that the picture has been questioned, but he insists, nevertheless, that it must be given to Géricault (or be considered a faithful copy), "since no other artist could have painted such a picture" (page 72). Having closely examined it at the recent exhibition in Winterthur, I am convinced that this painting can safely be omitted from the list of genuine works. Its spongy, structureless mass, the feeble and indecisive brushwork, the yellowish color cause it to contrast strikingly, and disagreeably, with Géricault's magnificent studies of cadavers. If it were not for its unusual subject matter, the painting would probably not have become connected with Géricault's name. We must conclude that there were other artists at the time who treated macabre subjects of this sort. The inscription on the back of the frame, "Tete de Jacques Didier, exécuté en 1821 pour avoir tué sa femme," is quite likely genuine. If so, it practically excludes the possibility of Géricault's authorship. Géricault spent the year of 1821 in England.

The pen drawing of a *Lady on Horseback* (Plate 66) is not a study for the painting of a *Woman in Riding Costume on a Piebald Horse* (Jean Stern collection; Clément 139). Its style, as Mr. Berger points out, is "exceptional." It is, indeed, without parallel in Géricault's work and cannot be explained as the result of English influence. We possess, after all, abundant documentation for Géricault's authentic "English" manner. The nervous, colorist pen technique, the Impressionist sketchiness of contour in parts of the design, and even the rather mannered conception of the horse in my estimation rule out Géricault's authorship.

The *Negro on Horseback* (Plate 83) is not identical with Clément 175, as Mr. Berger erroneously states, but rather a copy after it. The original drawing, described by Clément, is on blue paper and measures 210 x 260 mm. It was exhibited at the Centenary exhibition as number 287. The copy, which Mr. Berger mistakes for the original, is on white paper and its dimensions are 240 x 320 mm. I recently saw it at Winterthur, and believe that it is not by Géricault.

In addition to the examples cited above, there are other attributions in Mr. Berger's book which are at least open to debate. It is regrettable that the author almost never lets the reader know when he is dealing with attributions based on fact and when with attributions merely based upon opinion. In discussing Géricault, it is of course necessary to go, occasionally, beyond the domain of the safe and generally accepted works, but it would seem that—particularly in a semi-popular book—the author should warn his readers whenever he ventures beyond *terra firma*. To my mind, Mr. Berger's book presents a miscellany composed of

key works (accompanied by lesser, though genuine, drawings and paintings), an admixture of highly speculative attributions, several copies and a spurious key work (the false *Carabinier*). The result is bound to confuse rather than to enlighten readers not already thoroughly familiar with Géricault's style. Mr. Seligman's review gives no hint of this possibility.

The chronological order in which Mr. Berger has arranged his material adds to this confusion. He puts the *Charging Chasseur* of 1812 at the very beginning, and places after it several works which actually date earlier (cf. Plates 5, 24, 30, 33). The early date of the *Horse and Officer* (Plate 5), a copy after Gros, the *Landscape* (Plate 30), the *Cavorting Horses* (Plate 24) and the *Oriental Woman* (Plate 33), actually a classicist figure study, I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere (*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xvi, 1953, pp. 80-82). The dates which Berger suggests for several military subjects (Plates 14 and 15) and for the *Signboard of a Hoofsmith* (Plate 40) can be corrected by means of datable drawings, particularly the sketches in the Chicago album. These and other errors of dating, interpretation or description I have pointed out in the same place. It might be added here that the description which Mr. Berger gives of the *Pair of Lovers* (Plate 19) is misleading. The central portion of this picture (which the plate singles out) is not "surrounded on four sides by wide dark margins" (page 67). The painting, instead, represents an interior fairly elaborately furnished in the antique style.

The supposed *Portrait of Louise Vernet as a Child* (Plate 81) cannot date later than about 1814. Mr. Berger's confidently proposed date of 1822 violently contradicts all we know of Géricault's late style. It is sufficient to compare this portrait with the *Portraits of the Insane*, which certainly date from about 1822, to realize that it is separated from them by a stylistic gulf and a time interval of quite a few years. Mr. Berger, perhaps sensing this, has wisely interposed several plates between the *Louise Vernet* and the *Portraits of the Insane*, thus reducing the shock of this chronological collision.

The copy after Van Dyck, finally, which he reproduces as text illustration no. 1, is certainly not based upon the famous equestrian portrait of De Moncade in the Louvre, as Mr. Berger for some reason claims, but rather on a portrait of the Emperor Charles V. In discussing *Charles V*, Mr. Berger evidently had in mind another sketch by Géricault, which does copy Van Dyck's *De Moncade* and which is, I believe, in the de Noailles collection.

There are other objections that might be raised to the factual presentation offered by Mr. Berger's catalogue—quite apart from those raised by the text itself with which I do not wish to deal here. But these few observations may suffice to map out the scope and importance of the areas of controversy which Mr. Seligman's review, for all its length, does not touch. Surely, these questions have some bearing on the monograph's value as a "reference book," indispensable, in Mr.

Seligman's opinion, to "American libraries and art lovers."

The firm foundation on which all modern scholarship concerning Géricault rests is Charles Clément's book, published in 1867. It is surely one of the very best art-historical monographs produced in the nineteenth century. Drawing on first-hand information only, concise, written with love but discreet in its evaluations, severely factual without being pedestrian, exact without being pedantic, it could still serve as a model to those who write on Géricault. Mr. Seligman feels that while Mr. Berger's book represents "many years of research, of personal checking and cross-checking of original works," Clément based his conclusions on "hearsay" and lacked "visual observation," "personal understanding," and "knowledge." "Certainly no such reproach can be leveled at Dr. Berger," he concludes. Yet Clément's record for accuracy is rather better than Mr. Berger's. His catalogue, comprising more than 350 paintings and drawings, compiled presumably through "hearsay," is still accepted in its entirety. Not one of the works listed by Clément has thus far been proved spurious. No one who has written about Géricault since Clément can boast of such a record.

Mr. Berger's "thorough study of Géricault's life is based on the facts," Mr. Seligman assures us. Where did Mr. Berger get these facts? Every one of them came from Clément's "out-dated" book. Indeed, Mr. Berger's main contributions in this field are "subjective interpretations and theories . . . more literary than scholarly." A fair example of his approach is the passage (p. 7) in which he offers "mother-fixation" as an explanation of Géricault's interest in contemporary social and political affairs, and describes the artist as being afflicted with a kind of Hippolytus complex, a novel addition to psycho-analytical terminology. I think that the many problems raised by Mr. Berger's book deserve more attention than Mr. Seligman's review gave to them. It is for this reason that I venture to call some of these questions to the attention of your readers.

LORENZ EITNER
University of Minnesota

SIR:

I do want to thank you for giving me an opportunity to answer Mr. Lorenz Eitner's letter referring to my review of Dr. Klaus Berger's book, *Géricault und sein Werk*.

A good many years ago when I was still a young man, a great collector said to me at the close of a long discussion, that after all there was only one item in the world about the merits of which everyone agreed, and that is a gold piece! Particularly in so subtle a field as art, one expects disagreements and on the whole they are stimulating; but disagreements on attribution and criticism of another scholar's work, it seems to me, lose their sincerity and thus their value when stated in the opinionated manner and the tone of finality assumed by Mr. Eitner in his letter. Not only does he attack

Dr. Berger in an unwarranted way, but also the reviewer, because he considers that he was not sufficiently critical of the latter's book! Since I do not remember ever having met Mr. Eitner nor until now heard his name, I can only conclude that this departure from the traditions of scholarship is due to immaturity.

Nevertheless, some of the individual points raised by Mr. Eitner (a number of which are based on the same type of personal evaluation which he deplores in Dr. Berger) do call for comment.

Mr. Eitner is, of course, quite right in noting the fact that Plate 12 is not the painting of the Rouen Museum. The author called this very obvious error to my attention before the review copy was sent to me, explaining that publication in Austria obliged him to rely upon distant help and that the wrong photograph had been sent to the engraver. This mistake is, of course, being corrected in later editions and I had assumed that an erratum was to be published. Since Mr. Eitner felt called upon to point it out, it would have been more courteous had he granted the possibility that so blatant an error might lie at the door of the devils which beset authors rather than at that of so respected a scholar as Dr. Berger. May Mr. Eitner have better fortune when his own books are published.

As for my own painting, the *Retreat from Russia*, I want to reassure Mr. Eitner that the opinions of the

Duc de Trévise and of a number of other eminent authorities who are well acquainted with the painting itself satisfy me completely. In fact, may I inquire whether Mr. Eitner has ever had an opportunity, which I greatly doubt, to see the painting. On the other hand, would he have the temerity to pass judgment in so categorical a manner on a painting, measuring some four feet in width, from the very small reproduction in Dr. Berger's book?

Furthermore, in citing Professor Anthony Blunt in connection with this painting, it is a pity that Mr. Eitner could not also call attention to the further words on the subject published in the December, 1953, issue of the *Burlington Magazine*.

In closing, may I again thank you for your courtesy in publishing this, a skirmish in what bids fair to become the war of Géricault, and may I add that I am eagerly awaiting the day when Mr. Eitner will publish the unknown canvases by Raffet and Charlet which are of such quality and importance as to lead these artists to be confused with the genius of Géricault.

GERMAIN SELIGMAN
New York City

ERRATUM: In the ART BULLETIN for March 1954, on page 61, note 7, read *Schwarz* for *Schwartz*.



LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- Acta historiae artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, I, 1-2 (in Russian, French, English and German), Budapest, Kultúra, 1953. Pp. 184; ills. \$6.50.
- AMANDRY, P., *Les Bijoux Antiques, Collection Hélène Stathatos*, Strasbourg, Université, Institut d'Archéologie, 1953. Pp. 146; 80 figs.; 50 pls. 7,000 French francs.
- Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, VII, 1953. Pp. 89; 119 figs.; \$7.50.
- L'art mosan; journées d'études, Paris, Février, 1952*, edited by Pierre Francastel, Paris, Armand Colin, 1953. Pp. 227; 32 pls.
- L'autoritratto del Signorelli del Museo di Orvieto è un falso?*, Florence, comitato esecutivo della mostra di Luca Signorelli, 1953. Pp. 14; 2 figs.
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- Bonner Berichte aus Mittel- und Ostdeutschland: Die Verluste der öffentlichen Kunstsammlungen . . . , 1943-1946*, edited by the Bundesministerium für Gesamtdeutsche Fragen, Bonn, Deutscher Bundesverlag, 1954. Pp. 103; 107 ills.
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- Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XIV, Antwerp, De Sikkels, 1953. Pp. 348; 88 figs.; 4 pls. 350 Belgian francs.
- GOETZ, HERMANN, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Jaipur, Office of the Chief Superintendent, Archeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, 1953. Pp. 180; 94 figs.; 10 pls.
- GRABAR, ANDRÉ, *Byzantine Painting*, New York, Skira, 1953. Pp. 200; 105 color pls. \$20.00.
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- HEUSDEN, WILLEM VAN, *Ancient Bronzes of the Shang and Chou Dynasties*, Tokyo, 1952 (distributed by George Efron, New York). Pp. 200; ills.; 71 pls. \$20.00.
- HILLIER, J., *Japanese Masters of the Colour Print*, New York, Doubleday (Phaidon), 1954. Pp. 139; 12 figs.; 83 pls. \$8.50.
- HROZNY, BEDRICH, *Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. 259; 144 figs. \$12.00.
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- LE CORBUSIER, *The Modulor—A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. 243; 100 figs. \$5.00.
- LEFRANÇOIS-PILLION, L., and J. LAFOND, *L'art du XIVe siècle en France*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1954. Pp. 253; 48 pls.
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- LIEB, NORBERT, *Barockkirchen zwischen Donau und Alpen*, Munich, Hirmer, 1953. Pp. 176; 46 figs.; 172 pls.
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